

## Overseas Press Club of America

**DATELINE**

FREEDOM BEGINS WITH

**"We The People"**

IN THE WORDS OF

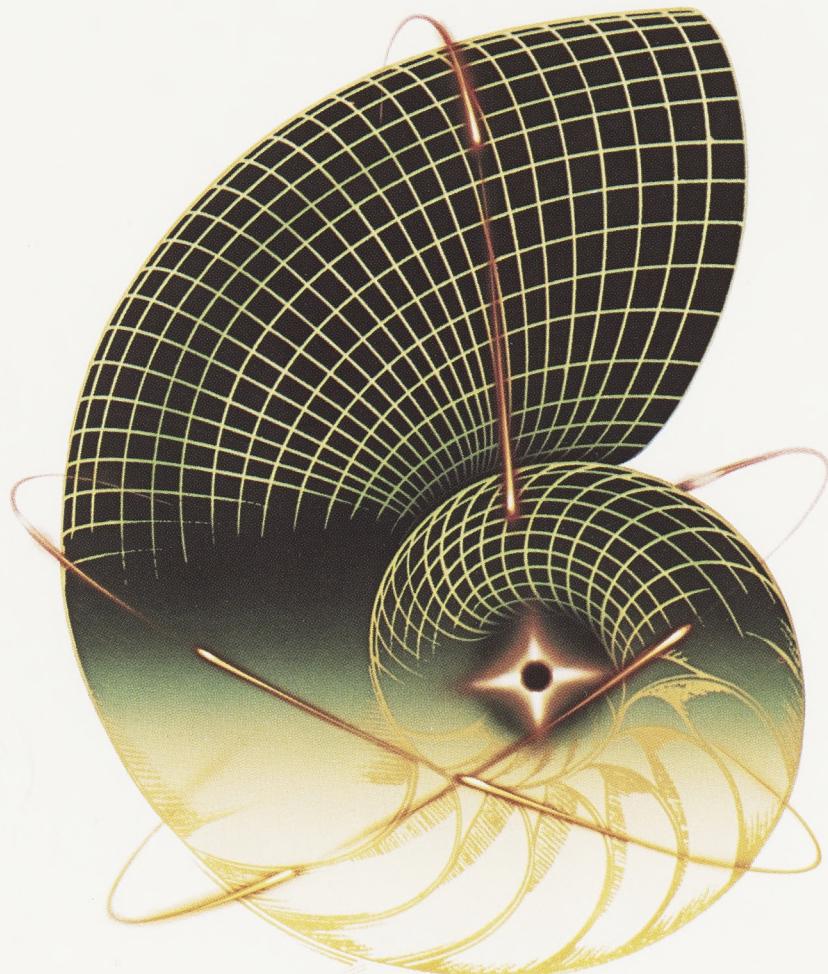
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INSIDE: The Overseas Press Club Awards

# 'ek·sə·ləns

## Excellence

- Having unusual merit; e.g., an outstanding community event.
- Marked by superiority, as in highest standards of presentation or performance.
- Something to strive for, such as unusual distinction in enriching public life.



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On this,  
the 200th Anniversary  
of America's Constitution,  
let us remember  
that there are still places  
in the world  
where freedom of speech  
is a foreign idea.

O V E R S E A S   P R E S S   C L U B

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APRIL 22, 1987

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# Timely Observations

Our Constitution is in actual operation; everything appears to promise that it will last; but in this world nothing is certain but death and taxes.

—Ben Franklin

Society in every state is a blessing, but Government, even in its best state, is but a necessary evil; in its worst state, an intolerable one.

—Thomas Paine  
from "Common Sense"

The basis of our government being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter.

—Thomas Jefferson

In the United States today we have more than our share of the nattering nabobs of negativism. They have formed their own 4-H club—The hopeless, hysterical hypochondriacs of history.

—Spiro T. Agnew,  
Sept. 11, 1970 in San Diego

The press is a sort of wild animal in our midst—restless, gigantic, always seeking new ways to use its strength... The sovereign press of the most part acknowledges accountability to no one except its owners and publishers.

—Zechariah Chaffee Jr.

If you would not be forgotten, as soon as you are dead and rotten, either write things worth reading, or do things worth the writing.

—Ben Franklin

We seek truth, and will endure the consequences.

—Charles Seymour

If all printers were determined not to print anything till they were sure it would offend nobody, there would be very little printed.

—Ben Franklin

Why should freedom of speech and freedom of the press be allowed? Why should a government which is doing what it believes is right allow itself to be criticized? It would not allow opposition by lethal weapons. Ideas are much more fatal things than guns.

—Lenin

I have sworn upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man.

—Thomas Jefferson

When we are planning for posterity, we ought to remember that virtue is not hereditary.

—Thomas Paine  
from "Common Sense"

I know no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion.

—Thomas Jefferson

The Press, Watson, is a most valuable institution, if you only know how to use it.

—Sherlock Holmes  
"The Six Napoleons"  
by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle

My country is the world and my religion is to do good.

—Thomas Paine  
"Rights of Man"  
1792

Freedom of religion; freedom of the press, and freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus, and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and the blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment.

—Thomas Jefferson  
First Inaugural Address

Journalism—an ability to meet the challenge of filling the space.

—Rebecca West  
New York Herald Tribune

Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom must, like men, undergo the fatigue of supporting it.

—Thomas Paine  
from "The American Crisis"  
Sept. 12, 1777

If only the state owns the press, men are slaves. If anybody can own it, men are free. No other artifact has this curious power.

—Sam Grafton

As for literature,  
It gives no man a sinecure.  
And no one knows, at sight, a masterpiece.  
And give up verse, my boy,  
There's nothing in it.

—Ezra Pound

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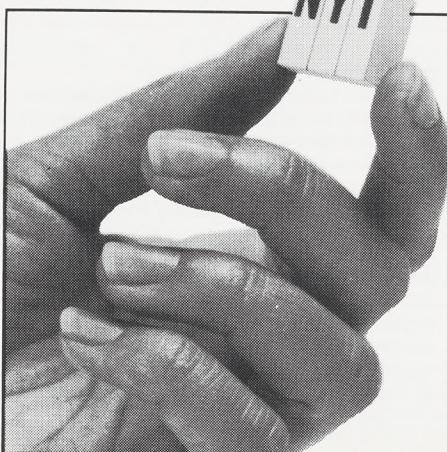
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A WELCOME FROM THE



BY HERBERT KUPFERBERG

# OPC President

**N**APOLEON ONCE SAID that a Constitution should be "short and obscure." As the articles of this 1987 issue of *Dateline*, the Overseas Press Club magazine, indicate, the Constitution of the United States is neither. Though not overly long and occasionally vague, it is on most major points both comprehensive and explicit—and never more so than when dealing with freedom of speech and freedom of the press.

These liberties are being commemorated and reaffirmed as the United States observes the 200th anniversary of the Constitution. *Dateline* this year attempts to present a variety of expressions by world leaders and outstanding journalists about the importance and uses of a free press, just as the Overseas Press Club has dedicated its Annual Awards Dinner to the celebration of the Constitutional Bicentennial.

The Club likes to feel that, in its small way, it makes a continuing contribution to the maintenance and furtherance of press freedom—or media freedom, if one prefers the modern usage—not only in the United States but also throughout the world. We regularly present a forum for expression of varying viewpoints by leading writers, broadcasters, statesmen and politicians. We single out, with our annual awards for excellence, individuals and organizations that merit special achievement for overseas coverage. And we endeavor, by every means open to us, to champion the cause of press freedom everywhere and to honor those who work on its behalf, often at their peril.

We are deeply appreciative of those friends, in and out of the profession, who support our work by sponsoring our awards, by advertising in *Dateline*, by attending our Awards Dinner and other functions, and by encouraging membership in our ranks. The OPC has grown mightily since 1939, when a small band of news people, on the eve of World War II, decided that the time had come for foreign correspondents to have a professional organization of their own.



Herbert Kupferberg

*The Overseas Press  
Club dedicates its  
annual Awards Dinner  
to the celebration  
of the Constitutional  
Bicentennial*

Today the very term "foreign correspondent" has all but lost its meaning, for in this era of terrorism, Star Wars, Chernobyl and Irangate, the old separation between "domestic" and "foreign" news has all but disappeared. World news has become the news of everyday life, and today's Overseas Press Club, more than 1,200 strong, is made up of men and women who edit, write, broadcast, photograph and interpret world news in the broadest sense.

And so we welcome you to our Awards Dinner, present you with our magazine, thank you for your support and, if we may, invite you to join our work and our fellowship by becoming a member. ■

# A "Great Bulwark" Of All Our Other Liberties

BY RONALD REAGAN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES



Ronald Reagan

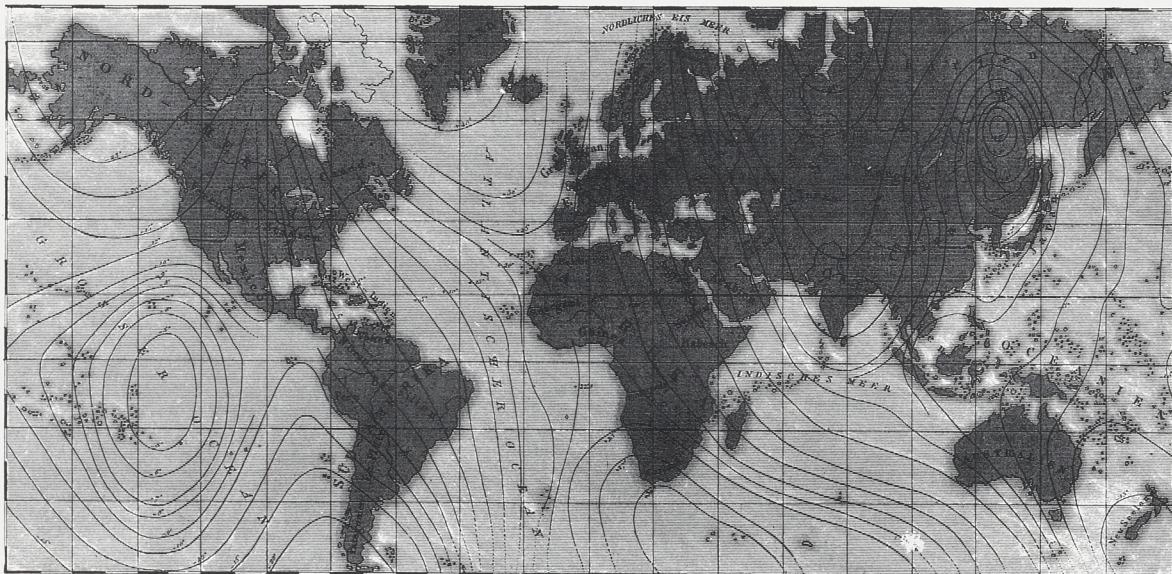
In 1987 OUR NATION celebrates the 200th anniversary of the Constitution, the blueprint for our republican form of government and a charter of those rights we as a people hold dear. The first ten amendments to our Constitution form the Bill of Rights, and while they do not exhaust the list of fundamental rights, they place in sharp relief those liberties which the Founders wished specifically to secure against invasion by the national government.

Freedom of speech and freedom of the press are among the very first of the liberties so enumerated. To our Founders, this was a matter of both philosophical and practical significance, for the American Revolution was as much a revolution of words as a revolution of guns. Thomas Jefferson said that if he had to choose between government without newspapers or newspapers without government, he would choose the latter without hesitation.

Today the term "the press" refers to a

wide variety of media for the written and spoken word, and to images as well. Technology has changed and developed, but unfortunately the urge to deny or abridge freedom of the press has not. In all too many nations around the globe, in this hemisphere and across the oceans, governments founded on a notion of the State as the source of all legitimate rights also insist on the State as the sole arbiter of information for the people. Censorship and outright suppression of any

*continued*



“The Los Angeles Times . . .  
has no superior, that I know of in  
the English speaking world,  
for its foreign news coverage.”

— Alistair Cooke  
“Letter From America”  
British Broadcasting Corporation  
12/12/86

**Los Angeles Times**  
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**REAGAN** /continued

dissenting view are the norm. It is no accident that the governments which most vehemently deny these rights to their own people are those which pose the greatest threat to their neighbors' freedom as well.

Freedom of the press, then, is not only a liberty in itself, it is, in the phrase of George Mason, who drafted the Virginia Bill of Rights in 1776, a "great bulwark" of all the other liberties we enjoy. For this reason, all of us must be zealous to guard this precious freedom,

and the press must not and need not be ashamed to stand guard over the full panoply of freedoms in which it takes such prominent rank.

Every day around the world there are brave men and women—many of them members of the Overseas Press Club—working tirelessly to get the facts and report the stories that people need to live their lives in enlightened dignity and peace. So much depends on you, on the quality of your work and your professionalism. Let us give thanks then for the document which has endured through 200 years of turbulence, trial, and

triumph, and let us rededicate ourselves to the hope that the values enshrined in our Constitution will one day be recognized as part of the heritage of all mankind.

Nancy and I are proud to salute the members of the Overseas Press Club and to send you our best wishes on the occasion of your annual Awards Dinner. May God bless you all. ■

*In addition to being President of the United States, the writer is a former broadcaster for WHO in Des Moines, and WOC in Davenport, Iowa.*

# A Common Heritage—Written And Unwritten

BY MARGARET THATCHER,  
PRIME MINISTER OF  
THE UNITED KINGDOM

**A**LL WHO VALUE FREEDOM and democracy will want to join you in celebrating this anniversary of the U.S. Constitution. We in Britain are particularly proud to have helped evolve, from the Magna Carta (1215) to the Bill of Rights (1689) and the great Parliamentary reforms of the nineteenth century, the principles which your Constitution has sustained and carried forward for two hundred years.

We in Britain have no written constitution, but instead have built up over centuries a body of traditions which guides us. But we share the same concerns for justice, for the democratic rights of every individual, for freedom to choose, to speak, to think, to act as one wishes, within the limits that life together in society must impose. We have learned from each other's experience for two hundred years. And we have fought together to defend these values.

In this glorious anniversary year, we share your respect and admiration for the wisdom of your founding fathers who enshrined these values in the U.S. Constitution. ■



Margaret Thatcher



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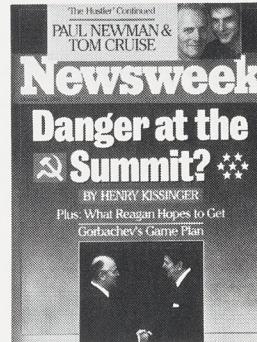
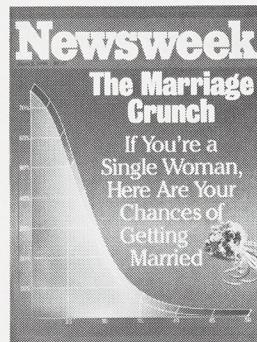
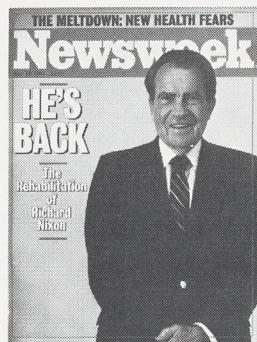
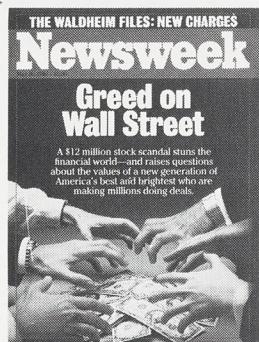
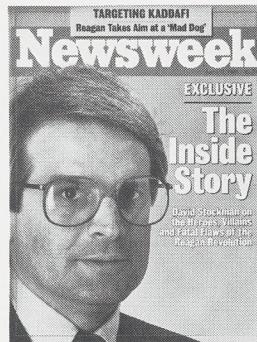
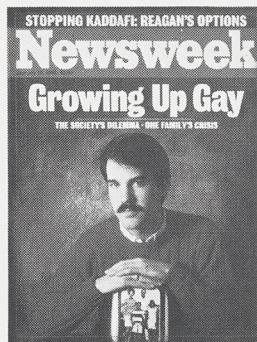
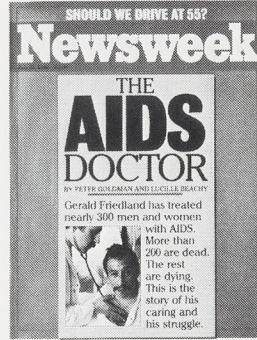
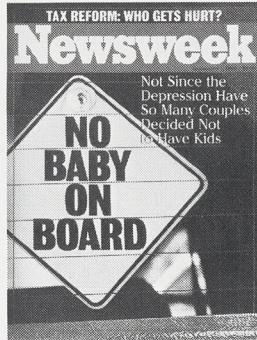
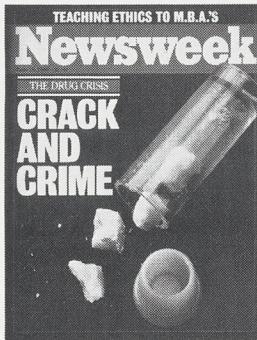
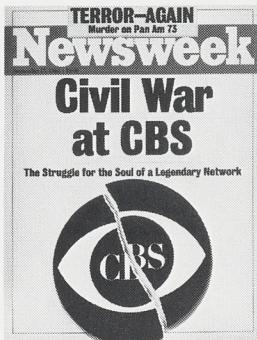
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# "How Do You Keep A President Honest?"

BY HELEN THOMAS / UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL

**T**HE QUESTION OF HOW TO keep a President honest is difficult to answer since none of the Presidents I have covered, from Kennedy to Reagan, have been totally forthcoming with the truth.

The Presidential penchant for secrecy and the inevitable feeling of our Presidents, once they get into office, that so much government information is their private preserve form a constant barrier to the people's right to know.

I do believe that the Presidential press conference is absolutely necessary since it is the only institution in our society where a President can be questioned on a regular basis, cross-examined, his feet held to the fire for the whole world to see.

That is why Presidents get to dislike news conferences so much. They don't want to be pinned down. Arrogance sets in, and they have more to hide.



Helen Thomas

I saw two Presidents go down the drain because they had lost their credibility and could no longer persuade, convince or govern. They were Lyndon Johnson in the Vietnam era and Richard Nixon in the Watergate scandal.

And now we have President Reagan telling Republican leaders: "The people like me but they don't believe me."

Questions are important in the quest for truth. In my years of covering the White House I have found the American people can handle the truth, and they deserve no less. What they cannot handle is a dissembling President. Not for long anyway.

Electing a President with high moral character, one who can distinguish right from wrong, who is addicted to the truth and letting the chips fall where they may could be asking too much. But they do swear to uphold the Constitution and to faithfully execute the laws of the United States, and they should be required to abide by that pledge or face the consequences. ■

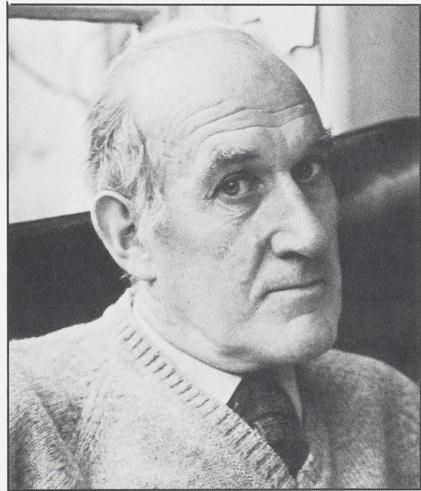
Helen Thomas is White House Bureau Chief for United Press International.

## What The British Admire About American Journalists

BY ANTHONY SAMPSON

**T**HE BRITISH HAVE ALWAYS prided themselves on the freedom of their media, with 10 national newspapers every morning, ranging from the intensely conservative London *Times* to the Communist *Morning Star*, and with four television channels, which are always in trouble with governments on the left or the right. We enjoy comparing ourselves with America's one-newspaper cities, and the confusion between news and entertainment on American TV.

But in times of real crisis and political anger, the British begin to realize the full force of American freedom of speech and expression, and the strength of their Constitution. It is not so much what the Americans say, as what they demand to find out, which astonishes not only Britons but also most Europeans. For the mystique of official secrecy in Britain has a kind of magic and dread which goes right back to the earlier



Anthony Sampson

centuries of absolute monarchy, when government was seen as 'the secret garden of the crown,' and attempts to disclose it could be tantamount to treason.

So however proud the British can be of their noisy and irrepressible parliament and their outspoken—even outra-

geous—newspapers, their freedom of expression is severely limited by how little they can really find out. Nothing is sadder for a British journalist than to look back at the history of major crises—the Suez War, the Rhodesian rebellion or the Falklands invasion—and to realize how little the press really knew.

But in the United States—though the administration can still guard too many secrets—the media's freedom is linked with a conviction that they have the right to know, to press relentlessly for explanations, and to become an indispensable element in the democratic system itself. Few British journalists can look on their American counterparts without a twinge of envy at this unique legacy of their Constitution. ■

Anthony Sampson is a well-known British author and journalist. His most recent book is "Empires of the Sky," about the airline industry.

# THE HEARST CENTENNIAL.

## 100 YEARS OF MAKING COMMUNICATIONS HISTORY.

This year The Hearst Corporation is celebrating its 100th anniversary in American journalism.

As a salute to the many thousands of employees who helped us reach this milestone, we have gathered together just a few from the past and the present who, in some special way, represent the achievements of all their co-workers over the past century. Reporters, columnists, editors, publishers, writers, broadcasters and business executives: they have made Hearst one of the largest and, we think, one of the best communications companies in the world.

And to our readers, our viewers, our listeners and our advertising clients for their support over the years...thank you!

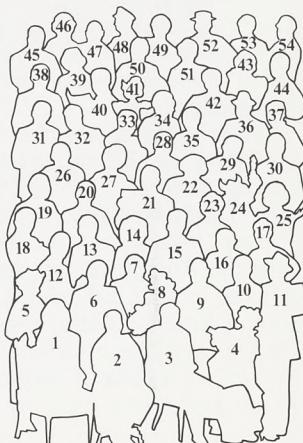


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Lynn 87

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# What Daniloff Thinks: Should

BY NICHOLAS DANILOFF/U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT



Nicholas Daniloff

**D**ATELINE ASKED NICHOLAS Daniloff of "U.S. News & World Report," who was charged with espionage and held by the Soviet Union for several weeks late last summer, to answer a number of written questions relating to his experience and to the role of U.S. journalists abroad. Here are his answers.

**Should a reporter ever do espionage for a government?**

No. American newspapers, radio and television are constitutionally independent. It is vitally important for our democracy that the press should not be controlled, or appear to be controlled, manipulated or guided, by the government. To undertake an assignment for an intelligence agency, or even to attend a news briefing by an intelligence agency, casts doubt on that independence. It also puts a correspondent at risk when

he travels to an adversary country. In the last months, correspondents have been expelled from China, Iran, Russia on spurious accusations of espionage.

**To your knowledge, has the CIA ever tried to induce American journalists to act on its behalf?**

In the 1950s and '60s, there were instances of American correspondents undertaking assignments for U.S. intelligence. These were well documented by the hearings of Sen. Frank Church in the 1970s. Perhaps when the nation is in clear and present danger such practices may be justified. But not in peacetime, and not today.

**What do you think are the real reasons why you were detained by the Soviet Union?**

There is no doubt in my mind the real reason for my arrest was the arrest in New York of Gennady Zakharov. Soviet Ambassador Yuri Dubinin forgot to get State Department support in his initial request to the New York judge for custody. As a result, Zakharov was denied bail. Had Zakharov been immediately remanded into the custody of the Soviet ambassador, I would probably not have been arrested. Zakharov's physical detention was of enormous concern to the KGB, which feared he might give away secrets or come to physical harm in a New York jail.

**What thoughts went through your mind when you realized you were being placed under arrest by the KGB?**

When I was arrested on Aug. 30, 1986, I immediately realized I was being detained as a bargaining lever for Gen-

# A Reporter Ever Be A Spy?

nady Zakharov. The Soviets tried hard to fashion a mirror-image case, including a three-point indictment against me, just as a three-point indictment was brought against Zakharov. While President Reagan certified I was not a spy, General Secretary Gorbachev did not do the same for Zakharov. In the end, the diplomatic resolution was not a one-for-one trade. I left Moscow with charges against me dropped. Soviet dissident Yuri Orlov was traded for Zakharov. In addition, two other little-noted developments were related to the final outcome. The Soviet side quietly agreed to allow a number of Soviet citizens suffering from cancer to come to the U.S. for treatment. And the U.S. used the Zakharov-Daniloff affair as a cause for expelling more than 70 Soviet intelligence officers from the United States.

**What was the incarceration like in the way of food, cell, exercise and hope for release?**

My prison conditions were significantly worse than those enjoyed by Gennady Zakharov in New York. I was in an 8x10 cell with a cellmate I believed to be an informer. The cell contained an open toilet. We were checked by guards through a peep hole every 15 minutes, 24 hours a day. Lights were never turned off. Exercise of one hour a day was inadequate. Food was minimally nutritional. Only in the second week, when my case had become a 'cause celebre,' did I get medical attention. My cellmate developed a toothache, and was summarily told he could get treatment in a month's time when the dentist came back from vacation.

**What should the attitude of the American government and the American people be when a U.S. citizen is taken hostage? Should we seek an exchange of prisoners, consider military action or abandon the hostages to their fate?**

Certainly deep concern. In a democracy such as ours, every individual is important. The fate of Terry Anderson, the AP correspondent held in Lebanon, is never far from my mind. What specific responses the U.S. government should take depends very much on the circumstances and cannot be outlined in advance. In my case, two governments were involved (not a government

and a shadowy group of terrorists) and both had something to gain by resolving the Zakharov-Daniloff affair.

**Would any of your answers be different when applied to a person taken hostage after having been warned by his government to leave a hostile country?**

If the U.S. government has warned American citizens to leave a troubled area, such as Beirut, it may delay for a while taking action. But it cannot shake off ultimate responsibility for protecting its citizens abroad, and it will be reminded of this responsibility by family, friends, colleagues. These sorts of pressures make it difficult for a democracy to adopt an absolute prohibition on talking with terrorists.

**How sincere do you think Mr. Gorbachev is in his professed desire to improve relations with the U.S.?**

I believe Mr. Gorbachev is quite sincere in wanting to improve relations with the United States. Stable relations with the U.S., and a cap on American military R and D, would allow the Kremlin to shift resources from the military to the civilian economy. Reviving the Soviet economy is Mr. Gorbachev's No. 1 priority.

**How sincere do you think Mr. Gorbachev is in expressing a desire for total disarmament? Do you think he or President Reagan made a monumental mistake in allowing an accord on disarmament to slip away in the Iceland talks?**

Soviet strategists like to think in all-encompassing terms. Mr. Gorbachev's January 1986 proposal for total disarmament was cast in that context. In the more pragmatic climate of the U.S., the package was overly reminiscent of Nikita Khrushchev's propaganda gestures. I believe Gorbachev's package did contain serious elements, however, and the Reykjavik summit gave us a much clearer idea of the Soviets' "bottom line."

**Do you think change is really underway in the Soviet Union? How real are the changes in the Soviet attitude**

**toward dissidents, and how real are the changes in the Soviet attitude toward people desiring to emigrate?**

Mr. Gorbachev is seriously interested in change in the Soviet Union. His efforts are not just propaganda. In this, he is way out in front of the bureaucracy and the police establishment. He has taken a number of small but important steps, particularly in his "openness campaign," in human rights, and in efforts to rally Soviet intellectuals to his cause. But he is treading on thin ice and risks the wrath of entrenched political barons. The recent Moscow demonstrations show how little tolerance there is of public demonstrations and criticism in the U.S.S.R.

**What is the perception of the Soviet people of the United States? Of the Reagan government?**

The Soviet people have a great curiosity about America. Many Americans, I believe, would be surprised at the reservoir of good will that exists in the U.S.S.R. for the American people, who are seen as hardworking and imaginative. The Soviet people regard the West generally as a very advanced area of human civilization. Because Russians generally suffer an inferiority complex, they seek Western approbation of their own achievements.

The Reagan administration draws mixed reviews, however. Some Soviet intellectuals believe it is the closest thing to a "check and balance" on unrestrained Kremlin power. But the mass of the Soviet people believe President Reagan is a mere puppet in the hands of a profit-hungry military-industrial complex.

**Do they know we are celebrating the 200th anniversary of our Constitution?**

The Soviet people have no memory of the brief parliamentary period before the 1917 Revolution. There is no ingrained sense of democratic procedure, or of hearing all points of view, or of "fairness" as we understand it. I doubt that most Russians know we are celebrating the 200th anniversary of our Constitution. Nor does the majority of the Soviet people know about the Founding Fathers' concern for limiting power through a system of "checks and balances."

# We Should Know More About Each Other

BY TOMAS KOLESNICHENKO / PRAVDA

**M**Y FIRST INDEPENDENT mission as a *Pravda* correspondent was to Africa, where I made an acquaintance with an American for the first time. This happened in the Congo—in the Province of Shaba, which was called Katanga at that time.

Cheerful, communicative, easy-going, mercurial, with a keen sense of humor, my colleague from an American newspaper was one of the boys. He was in stark contrast with the stiff Englishmen who appeared in the hotel's restaurant in the evening in black suits and neckties despite the unbearable heat. He also differed a lot from the fussy Belgians and Frenchmen who tried to save every franc, which explained why the wine on their tables, diluted with water, changed its color from dark red to light rosy by the end of the dinner.

The American was generous, always eager to stand a treat. He also willingly shared information. "No, that's not for me, that's for your paper," he would say with a grin, mocking at the Department of State, which had gotten into yet another mess, or the Pentagon's stupidity. It seemed to me then that we were very much alike, just as our countries, in many respects. He enthusiastically shared my opinion: We have nothing to quarrel over—the world's great and there's room for everyone under the sun.

At that time, I managed to take a photo of a white mercenary from a Tshombe unit. The photo did not need a caption—not a man, but a beast, a gorilla with a machine-gun, he had a stupid look on his fleshy face and the fat, hairy hands of a murderer. In a nutshell, this photo was my great gain. With much difficulty I managed to send it to my paper, and somewhat later I showed it to him. For a week he was asking me to give it to him. "You can reprint it from my paper," I responded with pride. "But can't you



Tomas Kolesnichenko

see that our editors won't risk taking it from you," he said, "and I'd like the whole America to see this ugly mug." And I yielded to his request.

Many years after we met in Washington, and I hardly recognized in a respectable-looking gentleman that care-free guy in shorts, a dirty jacket, and the invariable notebook in his hands. He said, "If I were you, I would have never given me that photo. What if your paper hadn't published it?"

Why did I recall this? First of all, because this episode dealt with success. After Africa, I worked in the

United States for ten years and I saw with my own eyes that American journalists never do anything without a reason, that they are real professionals, that they are locked in rivalry and will never let success slip away. In brief, they are career-minded. This doesn't mean at all that they have no principles, or that they are just bad guys. Not at all. But yet it is naive to count on their objective approach, on their disinterested help. They all carry out the assignments of their editors, and want their effort to be conspicuous. When working, they do not

suffer from any complexes, nor do they have hesitations.

This concerns above all those who write about the Soviet Union. Even if we suppose that all American correspondents are biased, which they surely cannot be, they could note some positive accomplishments, such as full employment, democratization and openness or they could do more to tell American readers about the diversified life of a remote nation. Instead, perhaps because of the political relationship that has existed between our two countries for the past 40 years, the U.S. press dwells consistently on a number of themes that I would call stereotypes. Some examples follow.

Stereotype One: "The USSR is a closed society, its citizens miserable people deprived of liberties." Hence hundreds of articles about Jewish emigration, dissidents, political prisoners. They convey the erroneous impression that our country is just a huge concentration camp, which it most assuredly is not. There are too many articles of this type, in my opinion, and not enough showing the diverse interests and appeal of the Soviet people.

Stereotype Two: "The USSR is building up arms: All its actions in the international arena threaten U.S. security." And, still worse, America stands to lose from everything that benefits the USSR. The approach taken by journalists in the U.S. on this point seems to me to be crucial. The future of the entire world largely depends on Soviet-American relations. It is vitally important for our two countries to cooperate in the name of progress in space exploration and environmental protection. We all know well that the manner in which a message is delivered has a great deal to do with how it is received, and so it is with journalism: Those who write about the Soviet Union must strive mightily for objective, unbiased reporting that at least refrains from disrupting or turning aside any possibilities for advancement between our two countries.

Stereotype Three: "The Soviet economy is stagnating, it needs Western technology. The USSR can't manage without this technology, so it should be used as a political weapon." True, we have many problems, just as the U.S. has many problems relating to crime, homelessness and unemployment.

ment, and we in the USSR don't try to hide from or conceal our problems. Of late, we have even emphasized the need to address many of them. It is enough to read *Pravda* or other papers for evidence. But why should the Western press strive to create an inaccurate image of a "colossus on clay feet," suggesting incorrectly that the language of force is the only way to talk with us?

In a word, just as the ordinary small-town reporter must strive for objectivity and to refrain from making judgments, so should reporters who cover the larger world of the USSR battle the tendency to dwell on caricature or a past that bears little or no relevance on the present. To portray our two countries in this day and age as enemies is, it seems to me, a luxury neither of us can afford. This is not the job of the press, in any case.

We should know more about each other. We should learn to trust each other and not to forget that we live on one and the same planet. ■

*Tomas Kolesnichenko is the head of the International Desk of "Pravda," the Communist party newspaper.*

# Thanks to the First Amendment...

The image shows the front cover of BusinessWeek magazine. At the top left, there's a graphic with the word 'BRAZIL' in large letters and smaller text below it. The main title 'COMPUTER MAKERS THAT ARE BEATING THE SLUMP' is at the top center, followed by 'PAGE 22'. The main title 'BusinessWeek' is prominently displayed in large, bold, black letters. Below the title is the date 'AUGUST 11, 1986' and 'A McGRAW-HILL PUBLICATION'. To the right of the date is the price '\$2.00'. The large, bold headline 'TROUBLE!' is centered above a detailed article summary. To the right of the headline is a black and white photograph of Robert Buckley, CEO of Allegheny International, standing next to a small private jet on a tarmac. The bottom left corner contains a barcode and the page number 'PAGE 56'. There is also some very small, illegible text at the very bottom of the page.

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**T**HE FIRST AMENDMENT, self-evidently, belongs not just to speakers, writers, assemblers and worshippers. It is the heritage, the essence of American life, the blessing of all who listen and read, who depend upon dissent and the co-existence of all creeds.

So the press is wrong when it invokes the First Amendment as its special preserve and shield. The Amendment is more nearly an obligation of the press, to facilitate the exchange of information and ideas, to mediate debate among the people and between them and their governments.

Yes, the Amendment confers on us the right to know, even to be honestly wrong or frivolous and what some would sometimes call irresponsible. But these rights are better called burdens, requiring us to want to know, to pay the price of getting to know, to be hospitable to discomforting ideas, to rectify error. The Amendment also shelters those of us who fail to bear that burden, but only so that others will give us our comeuppance. And they will. That's the beauty of it. ■

*Max Frankel is executive editor of "The New York Times."*

# *Freedom Of The Press: More Of An*

# *Obligation Than A Shield*

BY MAX FRANKEL / THE NEW YORK TIMES



Max Frankel

# "A Conspiracy To Muzzle The Press"

BY WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST JR./THE HEARST NEWSPAPERS

**T**HE AMERICAN PRESS stands today as a bulwark of our republic and all of our democratic institutions. The authors of the Constitution deserve a salute in this bicentennial year for their vision and wisdom in laying the groundwork for a free press and, I would add, a responsible press, without which this nation could not have survived.

The founding fathers built a foundation for the future, and they built exceedingly well. They created a press that has served the United States so effectively it has become renowned and respected throughout the world.

The road has not always been smooth. Between 1787 and 1987, those charged with gathering and circulating the news have been buffeted from time to time by censorship and threats of censorship. Intimidation and pressure have reared their ugly heads, but American journalists have stood tall throughout.

The United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has for years sought to make trouble by urging the creation of something called the "New World Information and Communication Order." Third World and Soviet promoters of this plan want to get governments involved in the news-gathering business, the result of which inevitably would be tainting news with propaganda.

UNESCO's efforts to contaminate the news have not succeeded, I am happy to say. The United States had much to do with this by protesting and withdrawing its membership from the world body. Recently, a convincing majority of Latin American newspapers refused to participate in a UNESCO-sponsored news agency, thus putting a damper on another conspiracy to muzzle the press.

Of the many organizations that have championed the people's right to know



William Randolph Hearst Jr.

the truth, I would like to pay special tribute to the Overseas Press Club of America. It has opposed censorship in South Africa, Communist-run Nicaragua and Cuba and elsewhere. It has consistently and courageously protested whenever journalists have been captured or throttled, which has happened too many times in recent years. The OPC has been and is today a vital force in shoring up the foundation of a free press guaranteed by our Constitution.

While we are celebrating significant anniversaries, I would like to take note of the 100th birthday of one of The Hearst Newspapers, the *San Francisco Examiner*. It has enjoyed a century of journalistic progress in which all of us connected with it take pride. As we mark these milestones, whether

in San Francisco or all the other fortunate American cities where a free press thrives, I would emphasize they do not signify the end of a period, but a continuation of a never-ending journey on a historic highway known as a free and responsible press.

The past two centuries have produced a journalistic foundation so firm it has helped to keep America free, and has challenged the rest of the world to think seriously about the press as a protector of human rights. Let us hope that we of this generation have had and will have the courage and competence to propel the momentum of our treasured free press into the indefinite future. ■

William Randolph Hearst Jr. is Editor-in-Chief of The Hearst Newspapers.

# No Goal But Truth

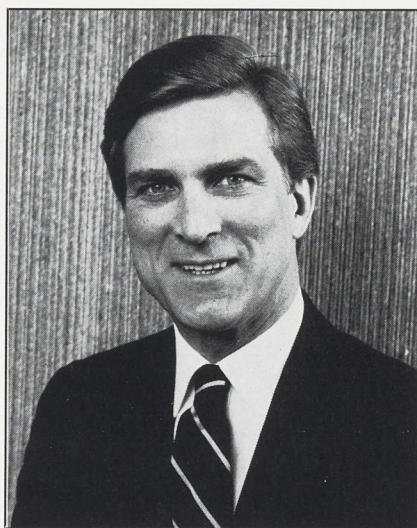
BY JAMES HOGE / THE DAILY NEWS

**J**EFFERSON CALLED IT AN "assembly of demigods," and indeed it was, looking back now at the first Constitutional Convention. Washington, Hamilton, Madison, Franklin and the others, demigods in a nation which has produced remarkably few demagogues.

We are marking this year the formulation of a charter which has guided the destiny of the greatest nation on earth. A blueprint for a nation inspired by lofty ideals but held together tightly by the practical words of merchants, lawyers, soldiers and, yes, even an editor.

The blueprint is an intricate one, and as delicately balanced as a fine old timepiece. It may need rewinding every once in a while, but the cogs and wheels of law and justice and executive responsibility have recorded two centuries of time, and now begin a third.

It would seem no accident that the preeminent concern with free speech and a free press is addressed in the very



James Hoge

first amendment to the Constitution. The practical wisdom of experienced men could envision the making of law, the enforcement of order, and the dispensation of justice. But seeing that no additional weight could be added to any of the three elements of the delicately bal-

anced mechanism required a very special monitor.

The press of this nation and its role in the process of government have no official sanction. There are no rules on what it might say or not say; in which areas it may tread and which must be sacrosanct. It has no governing body nor governing rules; few limitations and no goals except truth. It is as diversified as the nation it observes, but remains united in its insistence on a free voice.

The press, this flywheel in the magnificent machinery of a unique form of government, remains guarded, so that it may champion those who have no protection, and uncover those who have too much. It is the legacy of those who, in a Philadelphia summer many years ago, created a system which would not only nurture a free press, but would require it to survive. ■

*James Hoge is president and publisher of the "Daily News" in New York.*

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In Fortune's fifth annual survey of corporate reputations, Dow Jones & Company was again named one of the ten most admired companies in America.

Of even greater significance, the products and services of Dow Jones were ranked as the most admired anywhere in American business—and for the fourth year in a row.

These products include our Dow Jones News Service and Dow Jones News/Retrieval, Barron's magazine and our overseas publications, Ottaway community newspapers, Irwin books and many others.

But the largest part of Dow Jones is The Wall Street Journal, as it has been for most of The Journal's 98-year history.

Last year, at about this time, we revealed one of the secrets behind our success: people. The thousands of Dow Jones people dedicated to creating, selling and distributing our publications and services.

This year, we'd like to thank an equally important group of people: the millions of men and women who rely on Dow Jones for business news that conserves their time, serves their needs, deserves their trust.

In a recent report to The Journal's readers, our publisher addressed this responsibility, writing:

*"We are grateful for your trust.*

*"We value it above all else and realize it must be re-earned, day after day and year after year.*

*"We will be working to the very best of our abilities to merit your renewed trust and respect in 1987."*

People serving people.

Isn't that the secret to any company's reputation for quality?

*The First Amendment:*

# Imagine Our World Without It

BY ROBERT C. MAYNARD/THE OAKLAND TRIBUNE

**O**NE OF OUR FAVORITE rainy day games as children was called, "Imagine the world without . . ." For example, imagine the world without the wheel. What sort of civilization might we have become? What would the world be like?

It was a game of imagination that could absorb us for hours in wondering.

Today in America, suppose there had been no First Amendment. Suppose there were no guarantees of the right of free speech and a free press. What would America be like?

It is, of course, fanciful. Once you think about it, the answer quickly becomes clear: America wouldn't be America.

Suppose every book a judge didn't like could be banned like so much rubbish from the public library. Ignorance would flourish.

Suppose every time your local news-



Robert Maynard

paper failed to please your mayor, he could punish the editor with a few nights in the county lockup. Corruption would flourish.

Suppose a President under pressure could halt the news of his difficulties

and order the story off the front pages and silence the networks. Totalitarianism would prevail.

All too often, we take our freedom for granted. We assume because we have been free for 200 years that it will always be so. That is a mistake. Democracy requires the vigilance of citizens. We don't read enough about the affairs of the day. We don't pay close attention to the claims of candidates. We don't vote in great numbers. That lack of attention to the details of citizenship is dangerous to a democracy.

Suppose we didn't have free speech? That is more than a mere child's game. Unless we pay attention, it could be no laughing matter. ■

*Robert C. Maynard is editor and president of "The Tribune," in Oakland, Calif.*



**"WHERE THE PRESS IS FREE AND  
EVERY MAN ABLE TO READ, ALL IS SAFE."**

—THOMAS JEFFERSON

The U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights which followed are tributes to those visionaries who provided a cornerstone for our basic right to knowledge—freedom of speech.

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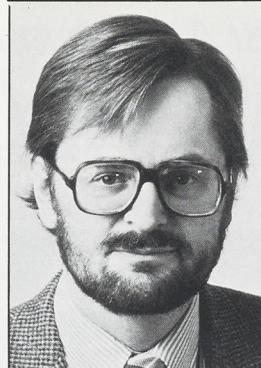
## CLASS 1

**The Hal Boyle Award for best daily newspaper or wire service reporting from abroad**  
**Honorarium: \$1000 from AT&T**

### WINNER:

**Serge Schmemann**

The New York Times,  
for articles on the Soviet Union



Serge Schmemann

**CITATIONS:**

Phil Bronstein, the San Francisco Examiner, and Mark Fineman, the Los Angeles Times, both for coverage of the Philippines

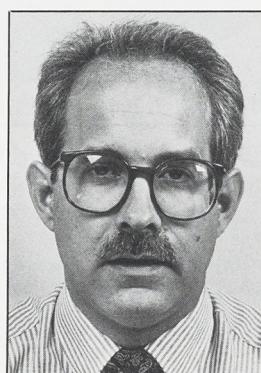
## CLASS 2

**The Bob Considine Award for best daily newspaper or wire service interpretation of foreign affairs**  
**Honorarium: \$1000 from King Features Syndicate**

### WINNER:

**Juan Tamayo**

The Miami Herald,  
for "The Terror Network"



Juan Tamayo

**CITATIONS:**

William Beecher, The Boston Globe, for "What Happened at Reykjavik?"  
David Winder, The Christian Science Monitor, for his series on secrecy

## CLASS 3

**The Robert Capa Gold Medal for photographic reporting from abroad requiring exceptional courage and enterprise**  
**Medal and \$1000 honorarium from Life magazine**

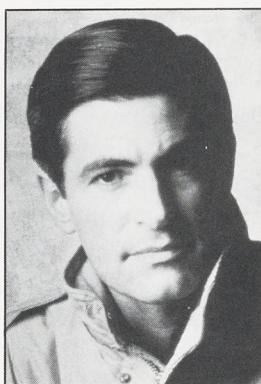
### WINNER:

**James Nachtwey**

for "Island at War" in Time magazine and the German edition of GEO

**CITATION:**

Dr. Robert Gale, for "Witness to Disaster—an American Doctor at Chernobyl," in Life magazine

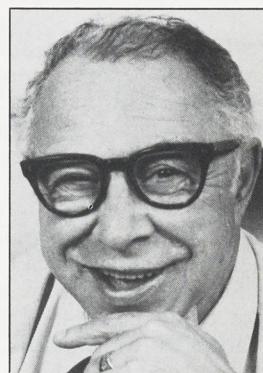


James Nachtwey

# The 1986 Overseas Press Club Awards

#### GUEST SPEAKER

**A**RT BUCHWALD, whose column appears in more than 500 newspapers, was born in Mt. Vernon, N.Y., and attended Forest Hills High School in New York and the University of Southern California in Los Angeles. He served in the U.S. Marine Corps from 1942 to 1945, becoming a sergeant. He began writing his column of satire and comment for the European edition of the *New York Herald Tribune* in Paris in 1949 and continues it from his present base in Washington, D.C. He has published more than 25 books, is married to Ann McGarry, and has three children.



Art Buchwald

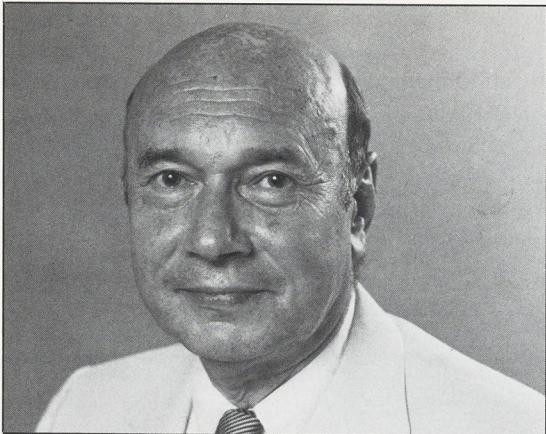
#### PRESENTER OF AWARDS

**L**ESLEY STAHL, national affairs correspondent for CBS News, is one of television's most widely seen news personalities. A native of Swampscott, Mass., she is a graduate of Wheaton College in Norton, Mass. She worked as a researcher at NBC



Lesley Stahl

News from 1967 to 1969, and from 1970 to 1972 was a producer and reporter for WHDH-TV in Boston. Since 1972 she has been with CBS News, where she was White House correspondent for eight years, and has served as moderator of the "Face the Nation" show. She and her husband, Aaron Latham, the writer, have one daughter.



Morton  
Frank

## Quality And Diversity Mark 47th Competition

### AWARDS CHAIRMAN'S REPORT

ENTRIES COVERING NEWS EVENTS and their interpretation in this 47th annual Overseas Press Club contest came from many parts of the world. Locales treated most frequently by the submitters, among scores of themes and hundreds of personalities written or broadcast about, were the Philippines, South Africa, and the Soviet Union.

Selected by committees comprising 40 men and women judges highly experienced in their professional fields, the winners were more diversified in subject matter and source than those in most previous years.

The quality of this year's entries was among the highest and in some cases considered the best ever submitted, according to the judges' consensus. This top caliber rating held true whether the categories were for newspapers, magazines, syndicate services, broadcasting networks, individual radio and television stations, photographers, cartoonists or book publishers.

Thirty-two different organizations based in various areas over the United States won first prizes or citations.

The largest number of cash awards, 15, and the most total money in the contest's history, \$13,000, were given this year. Scrolls, certificates, a medal and a plaque also were awarded.

Names of the First Prize and Citation winners, with references to the titles of their entries, will be distributed to print and broadcast media throughout the world, as well as to the OPC individual members.—**Morton Frank**

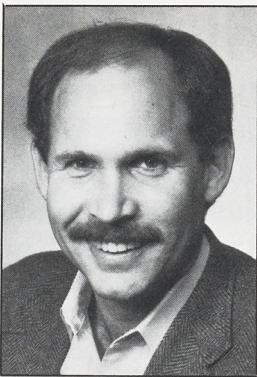
## CLASS 4A

**The Olivier Rebbot Award for best photographic reporting from abroad for magazines and books A plaque and \$500 honorarium from Newsweek**

### WINNER:

#### Steven A. McCurry

for "Hope and Danger in the Philippines," in National Geographic magazine



Steven A. McCurry

#### CITATIONS:

Anthony Suau for photo coverage from the Philippines and Colombia in Time magazine

Peter Turnley for photos from Moscow, Cameroon and Somalia, in Newsweek

Carl Mydans for a "A Bitter Victory" in Time

## CLASS 4B

**For best photographic reporting from abroad for newspapers and wire services**

**Honorarium: \$1000 from the Eastman Kodak Professional Photo Division**

### WINNER:

#### Akira Suwa

The Philadelphia Inquirer, for "Inside Khadafy's Libya"



Akira Suwa

#### CITATIONS:

Ari Mintz, Newsday, for photos from Central America

David Turnley, the Detroit Free Press, for photos from South Africa

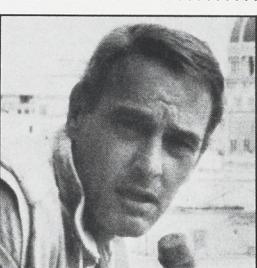
## CLASS 5

**The Ben Grauer Award for best radio spot news reporting from abroad**

### WINNER:

#### Fred Kennedy and Philip Till

NBC Radio News, for "The Tripoli Tapes"



Fred Kennedy

NBC



Philip Till

NBC

## CLASS 6

**The Lowell Thomas Award for best radio interpretation of foreign affairs**  
**Honorarium: \$1000 from Capital Cities Communications**

### WINNER:

#### Sara Terry

**Monitoradio Weekend Edition, The Christian Science Monitor Broadcast Service, for "Austria"**



Sara Terry

**CITATIONS:**

**Julian Baum, Monitoradio, the Christian Science Monitor Broadcast Service, for reporting from China**

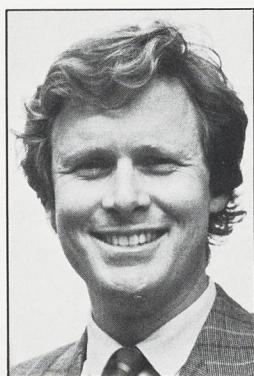
## CLASS 7

**Best television spot news reporting from abroad**  
**Honorarium: \$1000 from Eastman Kodak Motion Picture Audio Visual Product Division**

### WINNER:

#### Cable News Network Staff

**for coverage of U.S. Military strikes on Libya**



John Donven

**CITATIONS:**

**William Wheatley Jr., John Alpert and Steve Friedman, NBC News, for "The Philippines, Death and Revolution"**

## CLASS 8

**The Edward R. Murrow Award for best television interpretation or documentary on foreign affairs**  
**Honorarium: \$1000**

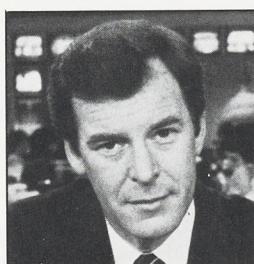
### WINNER:

#### Richard Threlkeld, Betsy Aaron, George Strait, John McWethy, Peter Jennings

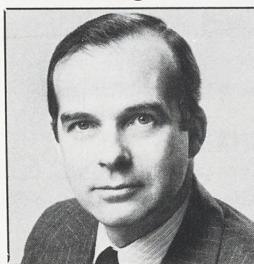
**ABC's World News Tonight, for "The Soviet Union: Inside the Other Side"**

**CITATIONS:**

**Ofra Bikel, WGBH-TV Frontline, for "Will There Always be an England?" John Lauren and Stephanie Tepper, WGBH-TV Frontline, for "Holy Terror, Holy War"**



Peter Jennings



Producer William Lord

► The Hal Boyle Award for best daily newspaper or wire service reporting from abroad, accompanied by a \$1000 honorarium from AT&T, goes to Serge Schmemann of *The New York Times*.

As Schmemann was concluding seven years as *The Times*'s bureau chief in Moscow, Mikhail Gorbachev proposed startling reforms—and in an unaccustomed atmosphere of "glasnost," or openness.

Schmemann, the son of Russian emigres, is fluent in the Russian language and equally familiar with Soviet customs and traditions. He reported on the outpouring of literature, theater, music and art that followed, going beyond the bounds of previous acceptability and challenging the very structure of Soviet society.

In a remarkable series, he recorded "the contradictory image of a nation sorely in need of change, and yet strongly resistant to it."

► The Bob Considine Award for best daily newspaper or wire service interpretation of foreign affairs, with a \$1000 honorarium from King Features Syndicate, was won by Juan Tamayo, Middle East correspondent of *The Miami Herald*.

Breaking beyond the routine reporting of acts of terror, Tamayo traveled Europe and the Mid-East, identifying the bizarre outlaws given to terrorism and probing their motives.

In July, his aggressive and courageous reporting produced "The Terror Network." In this series, Tamayo anticipated by nearly two months the September bombings in Paris, and exposed the Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Forces, found responsible for the worst wave of terror in France since the Algerian war in the 1960s.

► The Robert Capa Gold Medal and a \$1000 honorarium from *Life* magazine, for photographic reporting from abroad requiring exceptional courage and enterprise, goes to James Nachtwey.

Editors of *GEO* magazine in Germany and *Time* feared Nachtwey had been killed during his photo assignment for them with the Tamil guerrillas of Sri Lanka.

Producing "Island at War," he had in fact been with a Tamil group that was almost wiped out in a sudden night attack. He escaped by jumping out a window and over a fence.

Since leaving Sri Lanka legally might mean confiscation of his film, Nachtwey, with the help of guerrillas, instead took an illegal and highly dangerous sea route to India, carrying his film in a waterproof package close to his body.

During the year he also turned in to *Time* "Taking to the Streets" and "The New People's Army," exciting pictures from the Philippines.

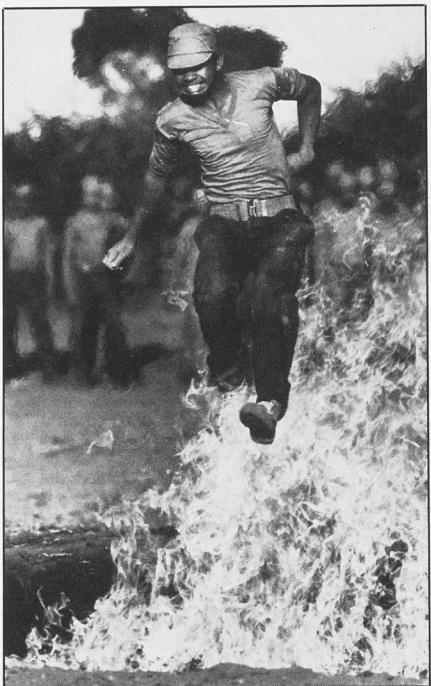
► The Olivier Rebot Award for best photographic reporting from abroad for magazines and books,

# CLASS 3 WINNER:

**James Nachtwey**



Communist New People's Army guerrilla about to throw Molotov cocktail at army garrison in the Philippines.



Tamil guerrilla trains in Sri Lanka.



Victim of Filipino N.P.A. guerrilla attack



N.P.A. fighter stops for a drink

# CLASS 4A WINNER:

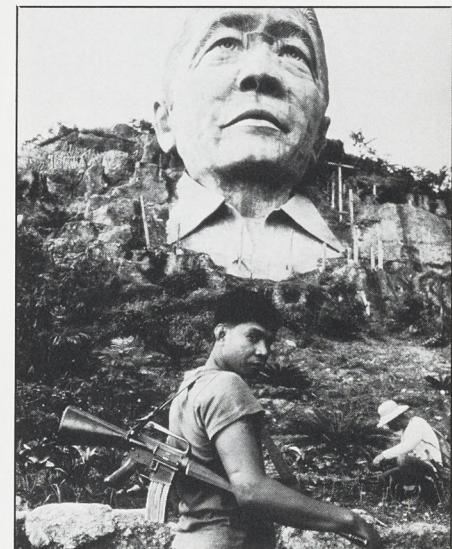
**Steven A. McCurry**



Chanting Filipino demonstrators march in support of Corazon Aquino in Manila, February, 1986.



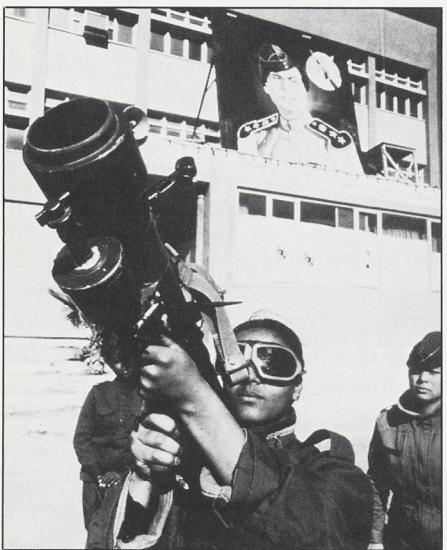
Eleven-year-old gold miner at work in pit on Mindanao in the Philippines.



Bust of Marcos looms over countryside.

# CLASS 4B WINNER:

Akira Suwa



Female soldier with rocket launcher



Libyan high school students practice Soviet-style marching.



Libyan leader Muammar Khadafy shares a quiet moment with two of his seven children at his barracks.

# CLASS 11 WINNER:

**Jeff MacNelly**



with a plaque and a \$500 honorarium from *Newsweek*, was won by Steven A. McCurry.

McCurry's pictures for "Hope and Danger in the Philippines," in *National Geographic* magazine, showed all sides of Filipino life: the empty grandeur of the Malacanang Palace; chanting throngs in the streets and squares; rebels, farmers, fishermen; infants, families; a population emerging from a peaceful revolution to an uncertain future.

► The award for best photographic reporting from abroad for newspapers and wire services, with a \$1000 honorarium from Eastman Kodak Professional Photo Division, goes to Akira Suwa of *The Philadelphia Inquirer*.

Suwa earned the award for "Inside Khadafy's Libya," in which he pictured the Libyan leader quietly in his tent; his corps of female bodyguards; Libyan children of different ages at play, uniformed and marching in formation, in college; soldiers, men and women, practicing arms.

► The Ben Grauer Award for best radio spot news reporting from abroad was awarded this year to Fred Kennedy and Philip Till of NBC Radio News.

Kennedy and Till were the only American radio correspondents present when U.S. Air Force planes attacked Libya.

The 2 a.m. attack wakened Kennedy, who ran to a studio he and Till had set up on the roof of their Tripoli hotel, and gave a clear, dramatic account of the raid, with the sounds of bombing and of Libyan tracer fire in the background.

In subsequent on-the-spot radio news reporting, they covered the effects of the 11-minute raid that dropped 16 tons of bombs, as well as the violent anti-American reaction that followed.

► The Lowell Thomas Award for best radio interpretation of foreign affairs, with a \$1000 honorarium from Capital Cities Communications, was won by Sara Terry of Monitoradio, The Christian Science Monitor Broadcast Service.

Ms. Terry earned this award for her interpretation of the Austrian reaction to Kurt Waldheim's presidential election campaign, and his alleged involvement with the Nazi party in World War II.

She gave a clear, meaningful word picture of what Austrians were talking and thinking about the controversy. She put Austria in historical and cultural perspective, so the listener could understand the implications of what was taking place—and found many Austrians were beginning to discuss the role their country and countrymen played during World War II.

► The award for best television spot news reporting from abroad, with a \$1000 honorarium from Eastman Kodak Motion Picture Audio Visual Product Division, goes to Cable News Network—CNN.

CNN won the award for its continuous, moment-to-moment, 24-hour coverage of the U.S. military strike on Libya. The coverage ranged from on-the-

spot telephone and film reports, to official reaction, to news conferences and expert interviews.

CNN provided explanation and interpretation, along with the spot news.

► The Edward R. Murrow Award for best television interpretation or documentary on foreign affairs was awarded to ABC's *World News Tonight* for "The Soviet Union: Inside the Other Side."

The weeklong series, anchored by Peter Jennings from Moscow, reported on all aspects of Soviet life—medicine, business, education, the military.

Chief correspondent Richard Threlkeld reported on the people, their traditions, their daily lives. Betsy Aaron reported on the challenges of life inside Siberia. George Strait reported on a medical system designed to treat many people quickly, but that by U.S. standards leaves much to be desired. John McWethy reported from the Arctic port of Murmansk, which is critical to the Soviet Union for military and economic reasons.

The series took viewers into homes, schools, factories, theaters and hospitals from Red Square to Leningrad, from the frozen tundra to a majestic city.

► The Ed Cunningham Award for best magazine reporting from abroad, accompanied by a \$500 honorarium from the OPC Foundation, was won by Robert Shaplen of *The New Yorker* magazine.

In a compelling two-part series, Shaplen reflected on the long history of revolutionary change in the Philippines, culminating in the downfall of Ferdinand Marcos and accession to power of Corazon Aquino.

From the deterioration of the Marcos government to the assassination of Mrs. Aquino's husband, he weighed and assessed the factors that propelled her into office on the tide of an unprecedented "People Power" movement.

Shaplen has covered Asia many years for *The New Yorker*. He calls this his "second liberation" of the Philippines: He was also there when they were retaken from the Japanese in World War II.

Shaplen marks his 50th year as a reporter in 1987—35 of them with *The New Yorker*.

► The Hallie and Whit Burnett Award for best magazine article on foreign affairs, with a \$500 honorarium, goes to Professor Seweryn Bialer of Columbia University and Professor Joan Afferica of Smith College for "The Genesis of Gorbachev's World," in *Foreign Affairs* magazine.

In a scholarly yet highly readable article, the two veteran Soviet specialists examined the new leadership of Mikhail Gorbachev.

Published in early 1986, their analysis proved remarkably accurate in charting the Soviet leader's course, from his doubts about the worth of East-West military parity, to the priority placed on domestic economic development.

They concluded that Gorbachev's rapid consolidation of power offered a "singular opportunity" for eased relations between East and West.

## CLASS 9

### The Ed Cunningham Award for best magazine reporting from abroad

#### Honorarium: \$500 from the OPC Foundation

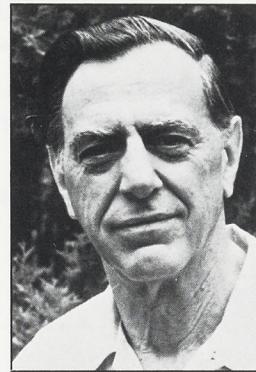
## WINNER:

### Robert Shaplen

*The New Yorker* magazine,  
for "A Reporter at Large: from Marcos  
to Aquino"

#### CITATIONS:

**Sheila Rule, The New York Times, for "Nothing Prepares You for Apartheid"**  
**Rod Norland and Ray Wilkinson, Newsweek, for "America Is Our Target"**



Robert Shaplen

## CLASS 10

### The Hallie and Whit Burnett Award for best magazine article on foreign affairs

#### Honorarium: \$500

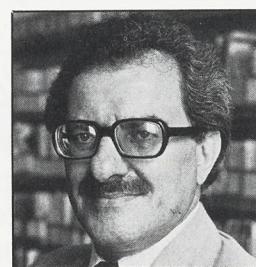
## WINNER:

### Seweryn Bialer and Joan Afferica

*Foreign Affairs* magazine,  
for "The Genesis of Gorbachev's World"

#### CITATIONS:

**Jonathan Kapstein, John Rossant, Jeffrey Ryser,  
Jonathan Birchall, William Holstein,  
Peter Koenig and team, Business Week, for  
"World Arms Sales: Who Keeps the  
Gulf War Going?"**



Seweryn Bialer



Joan Afferica

## CLASS 11

### Best cartoon on foreign affairs

#### Honorarium: \$500 from the New York Daily News

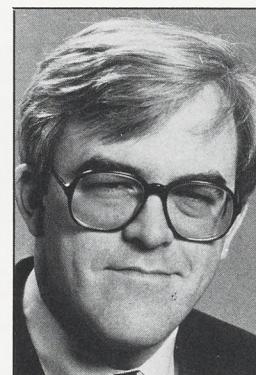
## WINNER:

### Jeff MacNelly

*The Chicago Tribune*

#### CITATION:

**Dennis Renault, The Sacramento Bee**



Jeff MacNelly

## CLASS 12A

**Best business and/or economic reporting from abroad for magazines**  
**Honorarium: \$1000 from Morton Frank**

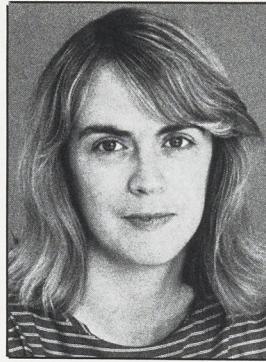
### WINNER:

**Suzanne Wittebort, Claire Makin, Beth McGoldrick, Fiammetta Rocco, Michael VerMeulen, Peter Koenig, Fredric Dannen, Darrell Delamaide, Isabel Bass, Wendy Cooper and Kevin Muehring**

*Institutional Investor*, for "Big Bang: The City Encounters Its Future"

**CITATION:**

Louis Kraar, *Fortune* magazine, for "Australia's New Tack"



Suzanne Wittebort

► The award for best editorial cartoon on foreign affairs, with a \$500 honorarium from the *Daily News* in New York, was won by Jeff MacNelly of the *Chicago Tribune*.

The judges cited MacNelly's excellent artistry and craftsmanship, his sophistication of both conception and execution. His cartoons, sharp-edged but not cruel, have a wryness and impact combined with subtlety and detail.

MacNelly's cartoons have been syndicated in 500 newspapers.

► The award for best business and/or economic reporting from abroad for magazines, with a \$1000 honorarium from Morton Frank, goes to *Institutional Investor* for "Big Bang: The City Encounters Its Future."

The editorial team that put together the special report included Suzanne Wittebort, Claire Makin, Beth McGoldrick, Fiammetta Rocco, Michael VerMeulen, Peter Koenig, Fredric Dannen, Darrell Delamaide, Isabel Bass and Wendy Cooper.

The comprehensive, solidly researched and brilliantly written 10-part report examined the likely impact of the British government's bold move to deregulate the nation's securities markets, centered in The City, the financial district of London.

Although the report was assembled six months before the "Big Bang" of deregulation took effect, the remarkably perceptive articles foretold in great detail and with uncanny accuracy how the far-reaching developments would change the culture and institutions, the face and pace of The City.

► The award for best business and/or economic reporting from abroad for newspapers or wire services, with a \$1000 honorarium from *Forbes* magazine, goes to Evelyn Richards and Lewis M. Simons of the *San Jose Mercury News*, for "The Trade War: Why Japan Is Winning."

The hard-hitting series featured a page-one display and two full inside pages for three days, carrying a multifaceted discussion of this vital, emotion-filled issue for readers in the heart of so-called Silicon Valley.

The articles noted that the Japanese have been gaining the upper hand because of the willingness of many American companies to purchase the lower-cost output from Japanese competitors, and their failure to understand the Japanese consumer.

It concluded, however, that Japan was now facing growing competition from newly industrialized nations on the Pacific Rim.

► The Cornelius Ryan Award for best book on foreign affairs, with a \$1000 honorarium from R.R. Donnelley, was awarded to Tad Szulc, for *Fidel: A Critical Portrait*, published by William Morrow and Co.

After almost 28 years in power, Fidel Castro spoke freely to author Szulc and gave him access to not only many top leaders and personal friends, but also to important materials about his life, the revolution and international affairs.

## CLASS 12B

**Best business and/or economic reporting from abroad for newspapers or wire services**  
**Honorarium: \$1000 from Forbes magazine**

### WINNER:

**Evelyn Richards and Lewis M. Simons**

*The San Jose Mercury News*, for "The Trade War: Why Japan is Winning"

**CITATION:**

Raphael Pura, *The Asian Wall Street Journal*, for coverage of Malaysia



Evelyn Richards



Lewis M. Simons

## CLASS 13

**The Cornelius Ryan Award for best book on foreign affairs**  
**Honorarium: \$1000 from R.R. Donnelley**

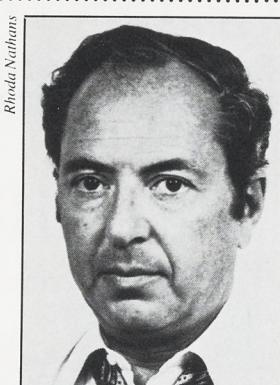
### WINNER:

**Tad Szulc**

*William Morrow & Co.*, for "Fidel: A Critical Portrait"

**CITATION:**

Ann M. Sperber, *Freundlich Books*, for "Murrow: His Life and Times"



Tad Szulc

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After almost 28 years in power, Fidel Castro spoke freely to author Szulc and gave him access to not only many top leaders and personal friends, but also to important materials about his life, the revolution and international affairs.

The result is a uniquely revealing portrait of an extraordinary revolutionary and his international influence.

The book contains a wealth of news and exclusive historical information, and a valuable insight into the controversial figure who defied the U.S. to create a Marxist-Leninist society at its doorstep; allied himself with the Soviet Union; sent armies to fight in Africa's political wars, and came close to causing nuclear confrontation between superpowers.

► The Madeline Dane Ross Award, accompanied by a \$1000 honorarium, for the foreign correspondent showing a concern for the human condition, was won by Tom Squitieri of the *Sun* in Lowell, Mass.

His articles, "No Refuge," described the plight of Cambodian and Laotian refugees in Thailand—"victims in an international failure that leaves them helpless."

He described how weary bureaucrats and arbitrary regulations destroyed hope. He told of the brutality and corruption of Task Force 80, the militia of Thai youths assigned to safeguard the refugees, and the role it played in the black market and organized prostitution.

In addition, he wrote of the refugees who managed to reach and settle in Lowell, Mass., and of bringing refugees still in Thailand videotapes of their liberated relatives—their best gift short of a visa.

## Judges For Overseas Press Club Awards

### CLASS 1 AND 2:

Henry Cassidy, Alan Frank, Peter French, Rosalind Massow, Ansel Talbert

### CLASS 3 AND 4:

Charles Rotkin, Cornell Capa, Arnold Drapkin, Ben Fernandez, Vicki Goldberg

### CLASS 5 AND 6:

David Anderson, William Conlan, William Kratch, Milan Skacel, Gene Sosin

### CLASS 7 AND 8:

David Shefrin, Kim Gantz, Arthur Unger

### CLASS 9 AND 10:

H.L. Stevenson, Fran Carpentier, R. Edward Jackson, Donald Shanor

### CLASS 11:

John Prescott, Jim Donna, William McBride, Michael Packenham

### CLASS 12:

H. Lee Silberman, George Bookman, John Flint

### CLASS 13:

Grace Shaw, Gerold Frank, Ralph Gardner, Alex Liepa

### CLASS 14:

Julia Edwards, Anita Diamant, Ann Stringer

## CLASS 14

**The Madeline Dane Ross Award  
for the foreign correspondent  
showing a concern for the human  
condition**

**Honorarium: \$1000**

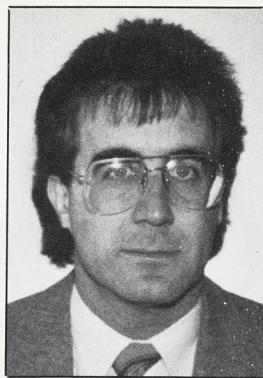
## WINNER:

**Tom Squitieri**

**The Lowell Sun,  
for "No Refuge"**

### CITATION:

**David Zucchino, The Philadelphia Inquirer, for reporting from South Africa**



**Tom Squitieri**

## OPC President's Award: **International Herald Tribune**

**T**

HE PRESIDENT'S AWARD OF THE OVERSEAS PRESS

Club traditionally is conferred upon an individual who has made an outstanding contribution to the advancement of freedom of the press or to a similarly worthy human cause. This year, for the first time, it is being given to a publication, the *International Herald Tribune*. Established in October 1887 in Paris, France, by James Gordon Bennett as an outpost of his *New York Herald*, this newspaper later became the European voice of the *New York Herald Tribune* and now is published by *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and Whitney Communications.

Despite its official name of *International Herald Tribune*, the paper is still known informally to many of its readers as the "Paris Herald" and to some of its French kiosk dealers as "le New York." Few newspapers ever published have for a century inspired such feelings of warmth and affection among their readers.

Yet the *International Herald Tribune*, especially in the modern era, has become far more than a convenient source of information for Americans traveling abroad. It has become a true global newspaper, carrying American journalistic standards and values wherever it goes, making the meaning of a free press clear to the world.

The Overseas Press Club is proud to salute the *International Herald Tribune* as it celebrates its first hundred years.



# 45 Words That Changed The World

BY DAN RATHER / CBS NEWS

## FIRST AMENDMENT

*"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."*

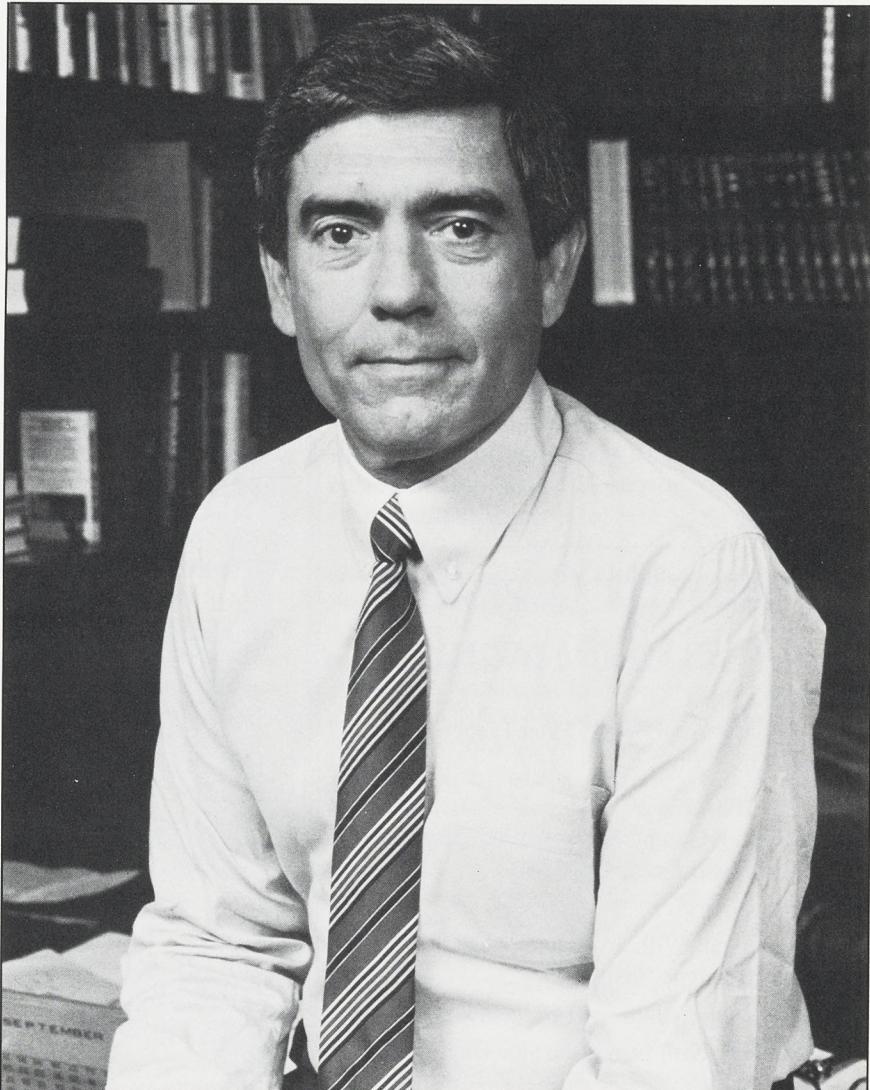
**W**E, THE PEOPLE, TAKE so much for granted in this remarkable country. An example is the First Amendment to the Constitution. For all of the talk about it, and all of the praise and criticism of it, many Americans haven't read it. And that's a shame, because the First Amendment is one of the wonders of history. It is a priceless heirloom bequeathed us by our forefathers and mothers.

The First Amendment has only forty-five words. They are forty-five words that changed the world and are an important part of what makes our still young country a new thing in history. When Abraham Lincoln called America "the last best hope of earth," the First Amendment and its meaning was one of the reasons. It still is.

These forty-five words guarantee to every American freedom of religion, freedom of the press and the right to assemble peaceably. This one brief paragraph, Article I of the Bill of Rights, assures us of the most vital ingredients for personal and political freedom.

This part of our Constitution has been interpreted by the Supreme Court to include certain rights of privacy, freedom of association (such as the right to join politically motivated organizations) and the right of expression through various forms of what has been termed "symbolic speech." These would include the wearing of armbands or buttons designed to promote causes. They would also include peaceful picketing.

These are rare and precious rights. Few humans have them. No citizen of any nation ever had them guaranteed before our country was founded. Many men and women members of our nation-family died to win them. Many more



Brett Petersen

Dan Rather

have died since protecting them. This we must never forget.

In too many American circles it has become unfashionable to think, much less talk, that way. But, frankly, I believe we must rededicate ourselves on this anniversary to teaching such remembrance to our schoolchildren, to new immigrants and to ourselves.

We can begin by burning into our minds and hearts what the Constitution actually says. That's the first order of business. Read the Constitution. Know it. Don't be one of the many Americans

who talk about the Constitution without knowing exactly what is in it.

We can follow up by discussing among ourselves and reading thoughtful books about how the Constitution is applied in daily life.

Then when we sing "land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrims' pride," we will better know why we and so many others before us have sung it with such pride and thanksgiving. ■

Dan Rather is the anchor and managing editor of "The CBS Evening News."

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# “OUR LIBERTY DEPENDS ON THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND THAT CANNOT BE LIMITED WITHOUT BEING LOST”

—THOMAS JEFFERSON

At the Chicago Tribune, we take our journalistic freedom seriously. Every day we put it to the test... stretch it to its limits... guide it through its channels of moral responsibility.

If we didn't do this, we might take freedom of speech for granted... lapse lazily and carelessly into a false sense of security.

It takes strenuous effort, even courage, to dig deeper into an issue than we absolutely have to... to write a story

that unveils corruption or steps on toes. Our Millstone series,\* which exposed the terrible deprivation and inescapable treadmill of urban poverty in America, is a good example. It made such a strong and controversial statement that, in the end, we may have made some enemies. But in the end, we also protected our right to speak out and our readers' right to know. For the Chicago Tribune, that's what counts.

\*The American Millstone series won:

*Grand Prize*, Robert F. Kennedy Journalism Awards for Outstanding coverage of The Problems of The Disadvantaged

*First place*, Sidney Hillman Foundation Prize Awards for 1985

*First place*, 1985 Peter Lisagor Awards for Exemplary Journalism Public Service

*First place*, 26th annual APA Journalism Award Competition

*First place*, Chicago Association of Black Journalists Public Service Competition



Chicago Tribune photo by Ovie Carter

## Chicago Tribune

*A great city deserves a great newspaper.*

**T**HE FREEDOM WE ENJOY AS journalists is based on what appears to be a Constitutional afterthought. The First Amendment, the one that guarantees press freedom, does so almost in passing. The text would appear to be far more concerned with freedom of religion, which opens the amendment, and with the freedom of all to speak out and petition their government for a redress of grievances, which closes it. In the middle, as if by afterthought, we find the four key words, "... or of the press."

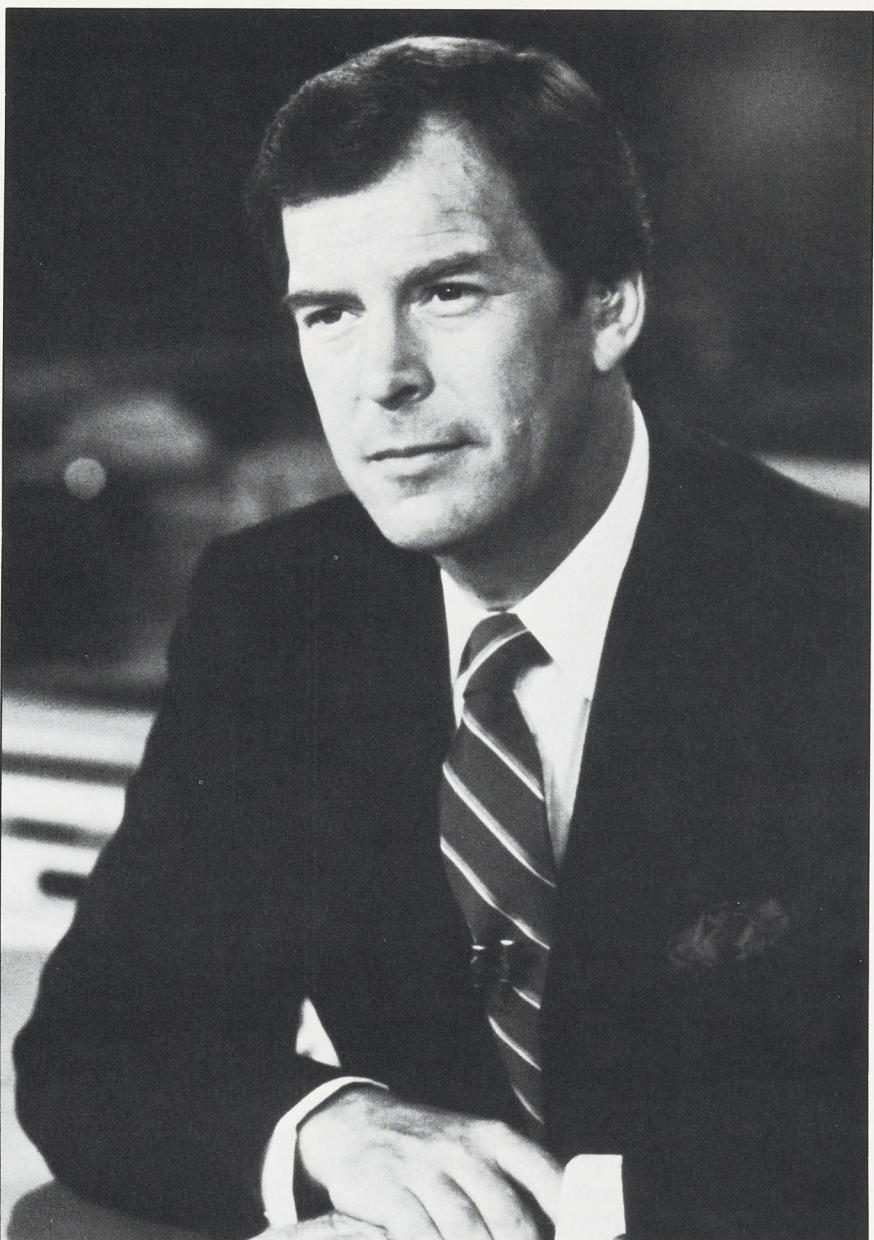
That's it. We have taken those four words and used them as the cornerstones for a solid house of freedom. We suspect that's what the framers of the Constitution had in mind. If freedom of speech is to have any meaning, it implies a freedom to be heard. One cannot be heard widely without the press—or, today, without the media.

While it is true, as our critics charge, that the authors of the Constitution never envisioned the kind of journalism practiced on television today, it is equally true that broadcast journalism, in this century, has come to play a critical role in permitting Americans to exercise their freedom on a wider basis than could have been dreamed two hundred years ago. If the freedom we enjoy as broadcasters is no more than an afterthought of that constitutional afterthought, radio and television nonetheless permit the free speech of all Americans to be heard instantaneously across the country and around the world.

There are critics who claim, with a measure of justification, that television reporting, in particular, has come to shape the news it covers; television on occasion becomes a part of the event rather than a dispassionate observer.

We are all aware of the many occasions when we have been "used" by one side or another to make a point. The staged "news" event, the White House "photo opportunity," the street demonstration which only takes place while the cameras are rolling, these are all part of our everyday experience. Given the nature of our craft, they may well be unavoidable nuisances.

We have a responsibility, to be sure, to try to minimize the effects of such staged events, by being a little more creative in our reporting efforts, trying to strike a balance between the carefully pre-packaged event and the underlying reality of the situation. The answer, I suspect, lies not in reporting less, but rather in striving for greater coverage, more depth, a willingness to hear and to report more than the stages of events



Peter Jennings

# TV's First Duty: Report The Story

BY PETER JENNINGS / ABC NEWS

would like.

To do otherwise, to act, as some would have us act, as censors, would be entirely against the spirit embodied in the First Amendment protections we enjoy. We have a duty to report the news as best we can, while taking whatever precautions possible against being manipulated. In the crunch, though, our first

duty is to report the story. It is a duty we owe to those who, by the inclusion of those four words a couple of centuries back, gave us the freedom—and responsibility—to pursue the truth. ■

Peter Jennings is Anchor and Senior Editor of ABC News' "World News Tonight with Peter Jennings."

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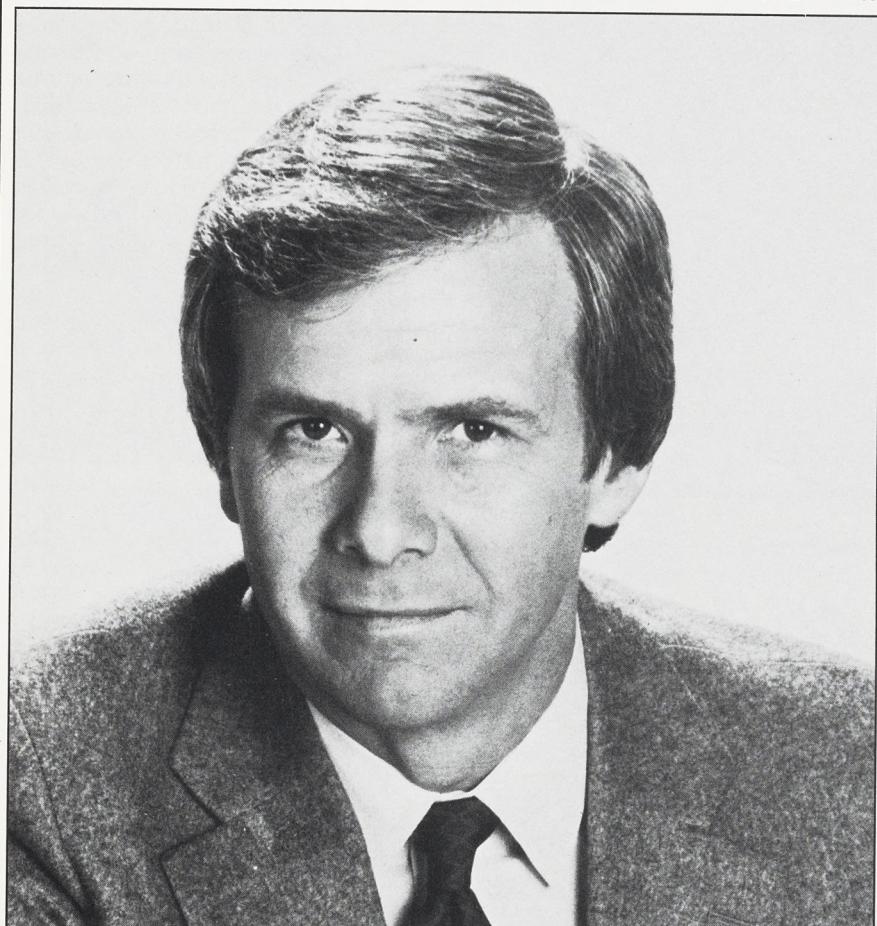
## The First Amendment

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

**The Boston Globe**

# Watch The World, But Keep An Eye On Yourself

BY TOM BROKAW / NBC NEWS



Tom Brokaw

**W**HAT MIGHT HAVE happened if there had been television networks and satellites in 1938-39? Just imagine Neville Chamberlain attempting to explain to Bryant Gumbel on *TODAY* what he meant by "peace for our time" or Winston Churchill, appearing on *Nightline*, excoriating Chamberlain and fulminating against Hitler's annexation of Austria. Who knows, maybe even the Fuehrer himself would have been flattered to appear on *Meet the Press*, to take a few questions via satellite on his intentions in Poland.

Would any of this have influenced the events leading up to World War Two? It's impossible to say, of course, but surely it's conceivable the American people might have had a keener sense of the mendacity of the Fascist

empire spreading out from Berlin.

That is not to suggest that newspapers and radio were inadequately describing the perils of the time, but the addition of television to the information spectrum would have been a powerful addition, indeed, especially if the principal political figures of the day were to have made regular appearances on the most prominent network news programs.

A preposterous prospect? I'm not so sure. Consider: Corazon Aquino and Ferdinand Marcos have battled it out on American airwaves. South Africa's Foreign Minister is now a familiar figure on American television programs as he attempts to justify the continuation of apartheid.

India's Prime Minister and Pakistan's military ruler have faced off on American television the role of nuclear weapons

in the sub-continent. Live network coverage of the breakup of the Reagan-Gorbachev meeting in Reykjavik was followed by analyses from the U.S. Secretary of State and the Soviet General Secretary.

It is one of the most heartening developments of the television age, the opportunity to extend the reach of American journalism to far-off places.

However, it also demands an even higher level of vigilance and discipline, for it brings with it so many temptations and traps. American broadcast journalists, able to order up heads of state, may be tempted to believe they have equal status and therefore behave more as negotiators than as journalists. It is a temptation to be resisted.

Moreover, this instant electronic access so speeds the information dissemination process that too often context and perspective are squeezed from the picture. Provocative pictures of, say, a war or a terrorist incident coupled with instant judgments can easily distort the circumstances and deceive the viewer. Those of us who labor in the vineyards of broadcast journalism are an exceptionally privileged caste: Even the least of our efforts play to enormous audiences; we're handsomely (some say excessively) compensated; we have the resources to roam the world in search of stories and we are protected by a powerful tradition as well as generous laws at home.

All of these are conditions that lead to hubris, that dangerous condition of exaggerated self-importance which sooner or later brings retribution in one form or another, either loss of public standing or new measures to constrain our activities. That need not be the inevitable result of this powerful position we enjoy.

If we are as critical of our own practices and policies as we are of others in the public arena, we will have taken an appropriate step. James Russell Lowell may have offered journalists their best watchword when he wrote, "A wise skepticism is the first attribute of a good critic." We should be certain our wise skepticism is applied as vigorously to our own practices as it is the practices of others.

*Tom Brokaw is the anchor and managing editor of "NBC Nightly News."*



Victor Sosalla

Robert L. Bernstein

# Why We Shouldn't Lie Down With Tyrants

BY ROBERT L. BERNSTEIN / RANDOM HOUSE

LOOKING BACK OVER THE 200 years that we Americans have been guided by our Constitution, you can't help recognizing that this enduring document is built into our very fiber. In the halls of government, in the courts, in the press, in public forums and even over the dinner table, we as a people constantly confront it, discuss it and depend on it. It affects us every day as we relate to each other and our government, as we settle our arguments, as we strive to improve our society, as we work to preserve and extend those individual rights that we hold so dear. Certainly, the Constitution has stood us in very good stead.

It strikes me as strange, however, that when we look inward at our own country and way of life, we are so principled and tenacious in defending our freedoms. Yet when our attention goes beyond our borders, we so often set aside many of our basic values and then wonder why we sometimes are not

seen as the freedom-loving people we think we are.

For many years, the American public was not nearly as aware of the things we actually did abroad as they are today; while our leaders expressed the same values we cherish at home when speaking, their actions frequently contradicted their words. In the last ten or fifteen years, though, things have changed considerably.

What used to be a hidden strategy of *realpolitik*—the word that was used to justify the terrible things we had to do in order to protect our nation—is often no longer hidden at all. With television, the press, the post-Watergate breed of investigative reporter, and more and more urgent public affairs books published soon after today's headlines, officials are quickly held to account for the way our fundamental values are represented abroad.

This constant exposure of the actions that occur under *realpolitik* has been

reinforced by the human rights movement, including organizations such as Amnesty International, the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, the Helsinki Watch, the Americas Watch, the Asia Watch, and similar groups all over the world. Yet the conflict between our acts beyond our borders that are contrary to our values, and the desire of people in all parts of the world for individual freedom, is still not fully understood in the U.S. It should be, because of our having earned and enjoyed the benefits of our Constitution for two centuries.

It is unreal that Vice President Bush, at the height of Marcos' power, thought the Philippines a great democracy. Or, more recently, to hear Secretary of State George Shultz, a man who has given so much of his life to public service, saying that Liberia has freedom of the press and is improving its human rights situation, when its record is one of worst in the world—or giving good marks to South Korea, which is a human rights disaster.

Even President Carter, who had a strong human rights policy, did not come out against the suppression of freedom by Marcos. So this is not a matter of Democrat or Republican; it is part of the long-standing separation of thought by our leaders between the way we defend liberty here at home and the way we deal with the yearning for it abroad.

I would suggest that it is time to rethink *realpolitik* in the light of the growing power of an idea, the human rights idea, which is really the idea of the American Constitution. Its guarantees of freedom, especially in the Bill of Rights, are America's greatest glory. We should be doing everything we can, in all of our actions and public pronouncements, to represent the idea of the Constitution to the peoples of the world.

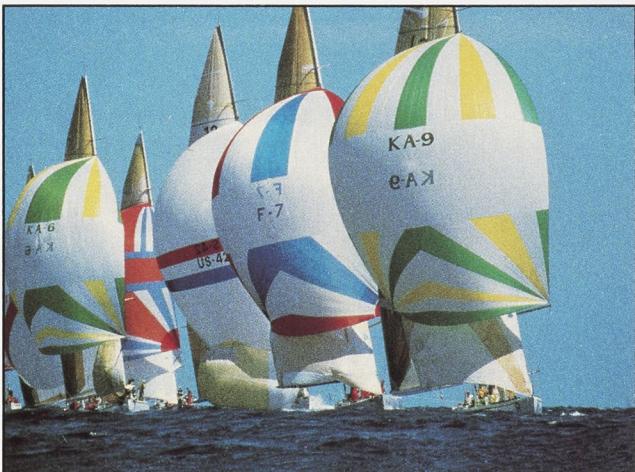
This does not mean that we should try to run the world. It does mean that we should try to encourage ideas we believe in, and should not support vicious governments for short-term gains with our taxpayer dollars. It is vital that democracy, a philosophy that embraces individual rights, be seen as the alternative to tyranny of the right as well as of the left. There can be no question that, as other countries win the fight for freedom, our liberties will be safer.

If we have learned anything in these troubled times, it is that we must be seen abroad as the same people who live under a Constitution at home. We must support abroad the same values we support and depend on at home. ■

*Robert L. Bernstein is the chairman of Random House, Inc. and of The Fund for Free Expression and also of Helsinki Watch.*

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# Each Amendment Equals A Revolution

BY DAVID SCHOENBRUN / INDEPENDENT NETWORK NEWS

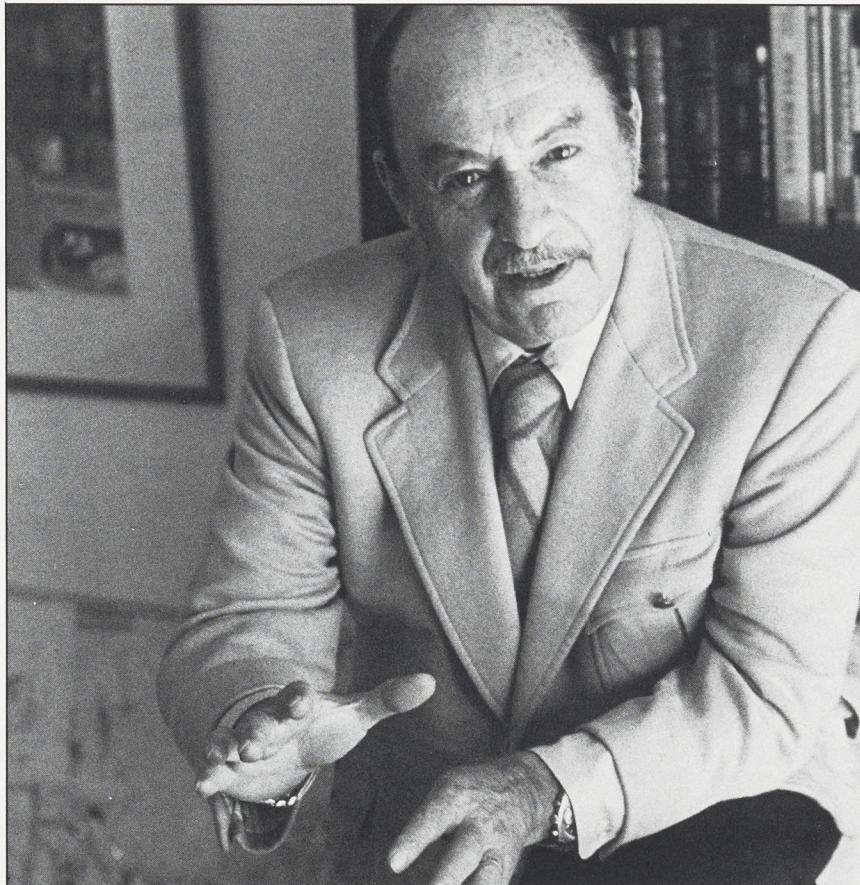
**I**N SOME FORTY YEARS OF reporting around the world I have never ceased to be amazed by the uniqueness of the American system of government and by the world's lack of comprehension of what our Constitution is and the role it plays in our lives. In no other nation is the Constitution the cornerstone of its government, the nexus of its existence.

Great Britain has no constitution. France has had about a hundred. Indeed, in French libraries, constitutions are filed under periodic literature. The French, therefore, do not understand what they feel is our bizarre behavior. To this day they do not comprehend why Richard Nixon was forced to resign. He did nothing, in their view, that their own presidents did not do consistently. He lied to the people? What leader does not? He went around the law, he even broke the law? Who doesn't?

For most peoples, constitutions express desirable goals, not revered laws. The world cannot believe that, in the United States, the Constitution takes precedence over everyone and everything. No President, no institution, equals the Constitution. Our Constitution is primal, foremost. I have tried everywhere to explain that ours is not a government of men, it is a government of laws and the laws are embodied in the Constitution. Few understand this.

What they do understand about us is generally wrong. Since our Republic was proclaimed in 1776 and our Constitution drafted in 1787, we are among the powers, the oldest, continuing political state in the world. America, they say, is a model of stability. France, Germany, Russia, China, even solid Britain have all undergone fundamental revolutions and coups. They envy us our 200 years of continuing political unity, with the tragic aberration of the Civil War.

What they do not understand and what many Americans themselves do not appreciate is that we are not at all a stable society. We are one of the most revolutionary societies in history. Only, our revolutions are not bloody revolts. Our revolutions are called Amendments to the Constitution. Some of the 26 amend-



David Schoenbrun

ments since 1787 are as revolutionary, have changed our society as profoundly as the bloodiest revolutions in history have changed others. There is no revolution so profound as the first series of amendments to the Constitution, the Bill of Rights.

Out of the Civil War came three important amendments, the 13th, 14th and 15th, which extended due process to the states, abolished slavery, guaranteed civil rights and the suffrage to all U.S. citizens, including former slaves. The brilliant concept of flexibility which created the process of amendments has enabled us to appear to be the most stable society in the world. We are indeed stable in our principles but flexible in adapting them to the needs of new generations. That is the special genius of our Founding Fathers.

Fundamental conservatives in the present Administration, the Attorney General

and even some members of the Supreme Court, seek to hold the line against change. They fail to take note of the Founding Fathers' own view of intent and change. Thomas Jefferson, in a memo to James Madison, explained that the Constitution ought to be torn up and rewritten every 19 years. Jefferson felt he had no right to draft eternal laws for future generations. To avoid fads and frivolities, they made it difficult to amend the Constitution, but they made it possible for each generation to review its laws in accord with contemporary needs. This is why we are now celebrating the bicentennial of the greatest political document of all times, why we are the revolutionary stable polity that we are. ■

*David Schoenbrun, a news analyst for the Independent Network News, is the only person ever to have won OPC awards in four categories.*

# How The Free Press Can Reach The Third World

BY TAD SZULC

**F**REEDOM OF THE PRESS IN the Third World, notably in Latin America, is both fragile and controversial, and it is certain to remain so for a very long time to come. The fragility stems from uncertainty over the fate of democracy in a great many Third World countries at any given time: Clearly internal democracy is a precondition for any kind of press freedom anywhere.

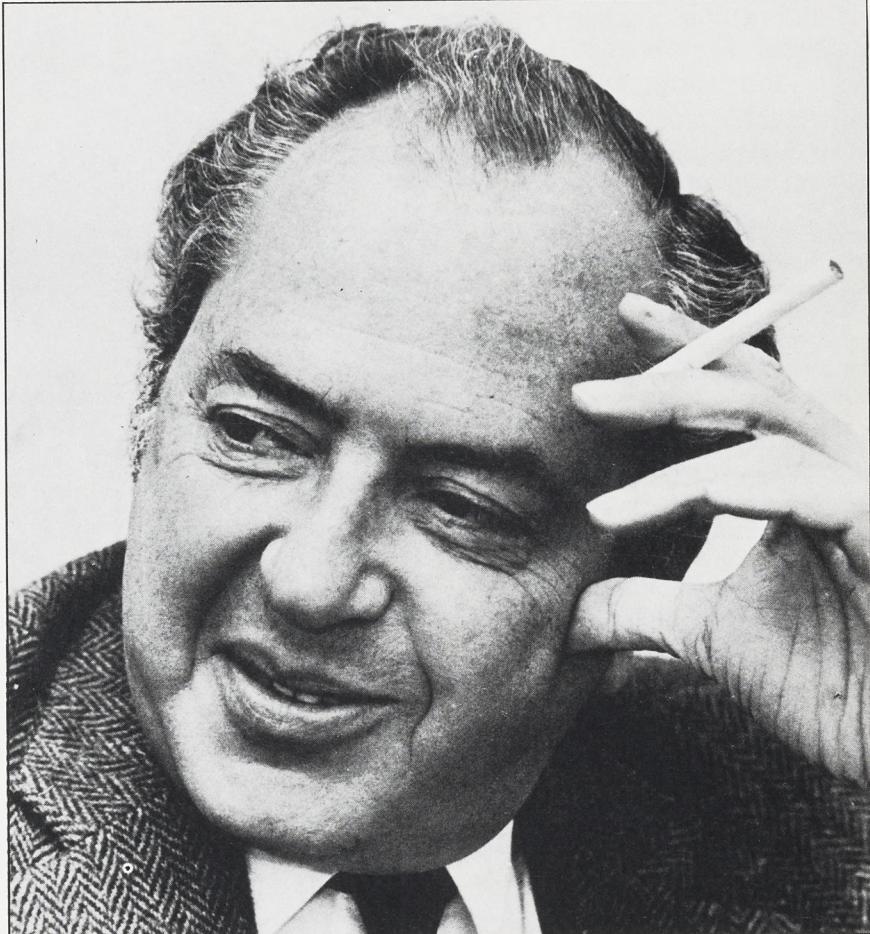
The controversy results from often fundamental cultural differences between North Americans and politicians and journalists in Latin America, Asia and Africa as to what freedom of the press actually means and how it should be practiced.

Under the circumstances, therefore, my own sense is that the best way for us, North Americans, to preserve, encourage and even enforce press freedoms in the Third World is to oppose the straitjacketing of the media by international codes and regulations proposed by such organizations as UNESCO. At the same time, however, we must resist the temptation to impose our standards on other cultures.

Sadly, freedom of the press is not faring too well in the Third World at this juncture, although there have been marked improvements in various spots. On the positive side of the ledger, freedom has returned to Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay in recent years after elected democratic regimes replaced dictatorships; there has been considerable improvement in Haiti after the ouster of "Baby Doc" Duvalier, and the media breathes more easily in the Philippines since the departure of Marcos.

But there is no freedom of the press in Marxist Cuba (where the media belong to the state and are simply the mouthpiece of the regime) and Nicaragua, where the oppositionist *La Prensa* newspaper was closed in 1986. Press freedoms are just as absent in Chile and Paraguay under rightwing dictatorships; in Chile, an opposition editor was mysteriously murdered last year. In Panama, El Salvador and Honduras, the governments frequently apply indirect pressures and controls to journalists.

In Asia, the press is controlled in South Korea, Burma, Taiwan and Thai-



Morrow

Tad Szulc

land (obviously there is no free press in communist Indochina), but generally free elsewhere. Africa offers the worst picture, with virtually no full press freedoms anywhere (not in Marxist Angola or Mozambique, socialist-oriented Algeria and Tanzania nor in apartheid-obsessed South Africa and breathlessly pro-U.S. Liberia), and censorship clouds have risen over Nigeria, until recently an oasis of free press.

Naturally, neither the United States nor its journalists has the power to create democracy and restore press freedoms in Cuba or South Africa. To nurture democratic processes is a slow endeavor: In some countries we may not see it in our lifetime. This is why North American journalists should, in my opinion, concentrate their efforts and influence to prevent injury to free press where it does function in varying degrees.

Such injury may come from long-standing proposals by UNESCO of the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO), a media code of behavior pushed mainly by Third World and communist governments, and strenuously opposed by the United States (under successive administrations in Washington). NWICO claims to strive for Third World equality in communications through the inclusion in international law of provisions for "balanced" news coverage, and strict regulation of news-gathering procedures.

Though Third World nations have a valid case in demanding a higher quality of coverage of their lives and development problems by the Western press (i.e., U.S., British and French), the concept of defining "balanced" coverage would soon turn into a nightmare as well as in justification for interference with free news-gathering. Clearly, no

body can ever define what (and by what standards) is "balanced." In the hands of authoritarian Third World regimes, the NWICO machinery could be used to distort domestic as well as foreign news coverage and distribution.

While it may be easy to dismiss NWICO (and UNESCO's role in it) as devices designed to control rather than improve the press, North Americans would be well advised to bear in mind that, even in democratic Third World countries, there is powerful pressure for certain constraints on the freedom of journalists to act with absolute *carte blanche*. This is a cultural trait in many societies where what we understand as freedom of the press has traditionally been abused in ways North Americans would not tolerate.

Whereas the North American tradition is to seek balance and redress through the courts—through First Amendment test cases of different types and through libel litigation—the Latin American tradition tends to control journalists themselves through a system of professional licensing, which can easily turn into a repressive instrument.

Thus last November the representatives of journalism "collegiums" (the nearest thing to, say, a bar association) in Costa Rica, Ecuador, Honduras, Panama, Peru, Dominican Republic and

Venezuela formed a committee to seek international laws to make the licensing of journalists obligatory.

In several of these countries, membership in the "collegium" is a prerequisite for the practice of journalism in the same sense that lawyers or physicians must be licensed. Such licensing is fully supported by the Latin American Journalists Association which, in turn, also wholly supports the entire New World Order. The journalists association has disregarded an opinion by the Inter-American Court of Human Rights that even domestic licensing laws are incompatible with the Inter-American Declaration of Human Rights.

To be sure, the association, along with UNESCO, represents Third World aspirations for greater international recognition of its legitimate development needs and problems—and of its multi-faceted identity—and these pressures will not vanish simply because North American journalists may see them as great perils to global press freedoms. They are part of the broader North-South tension in economics and politics.

Merely to oppose these trends, I submit, is not sufficient in terms of the relationship between United States and Third World journalism. To be constructive in this context, North Americans should seek more contacts, and not sim-

ply episodic ones, with Third World journalists—on publisher, editor and reporter levels. It would probably be worthwhile to arrange *serious* (and not simply confrontational or just social) seminars and conferences to exchange views and opinions over the world press controversy to bring about greater understanding on both sides of the cultural-political barrier.

Technical assistance to Third World media, on a much bigger scale than is currently available from the U.S., could play a significant role in the change in attitudes of foreign journalists. Journalistic educational standards should be raised. And, finally, the West must learn that it will never come to terms with all the awesome Third World problems without understanding them.

To achieve such understanding, of course, better in-depth coverage by the Western press is necessary, and this is really what the Third World is demanding. Once some modicum of understanding is attained, I believe, it will be easier to cope with the entire question of the New World Order. And, ultimately, free press everywhere will be strengthened. ■

*Tad Szulc, a long-time member of the Overseas Press Club, is the author of "Fidel: A Critical Portrait," published by William Morrow.*

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**cen · sor · ship** \'sen(t)-sər-ship\ **n** **1** **a:** the institution, system, or practice of censoring **b:** the actions or practices of censors: *esp* : censorial control exercised repressively

*Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary*

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# Should The U.S. Supreme Court Be Wired For Sound?

BY RON NESSEN / MUTUAL BROADCASTING SYSTEM

**H**

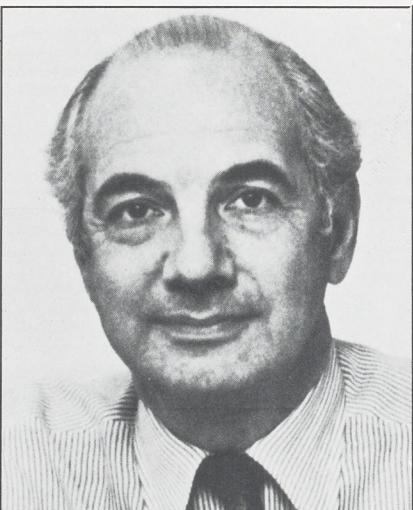
OW IRONIC! THE SUPREME Court of the United States, empowered to uphold Freedom of the Press and the other democratic rights guaranteed by the Constitution, is itself the lone holdout among the branches of the federal government in refusing to allow citizens to witness its open, public sessions on radio and television.

This inexplicable denial of the people's right to know what their government is doing was stubbornly enforced by retired Chief Justice Warren Burger, who made little effort to disguise his suspicion of and dislike for the news media in general and the broadcast media in particular.

Now Burger is gone from the high court, to devote full time to promoting the bicentennial of the Constitution. And his successor as Chief Justice, William Rehnquist, extremely conservative in his views and judicial opinions, shows no sign of being any more hospitable to opening the Court to microphones and cameras.

From first-hand experience, I can tell you it's shocking and frustrating to have your First Amendment rights denied by the Court from which there is no appeal. My experience began early last year when I asked Mutual's Supreme Court correspondent, Steve Nevas (a lawyer, incidentally), to write a letter to then Chief Justice Burger asking him to allow our network to broadcast to its 800 affiliate radio stations and their listeners the two hours of arguments on the constitutionality of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings budget-cutting legislation.

We argued that there was an "overriding public interest in and concern with" the Gramm-Rudman deficit-reduction mechanism. We also pointed out that radio needed no lights or cameras, which some Justices might consider distracting. In fact, we told Burger, Mutual wouldn't even need to install its own microphones and cables. We could relay the signal from the Supreme Court's own high quality sound system. Finally, we offered to broadcast the Gramm-Rudman arguments in full, without editing or interruption, in order to meet Burger's oft-stated complaint that excerpting by broadcasters would distort Court proceedings.



Ron Nessen

What goes on behind the marble walls of the Supreme Court is among Washington's most closely guarded secrets. However, rumors leaked that some members of the Court's staff and at least one Justice were nudging Burger to grant Mutual's request.

We decided to sweeten our offer in hopes of winning permission to broadcast a Supreme Court session for the first time ever. Nevas wrote another letter to Burger offering to make the broadcast of the Gramm-Rudman argument available to all other networks and all radio stations without cost and on two separate satellites which virtually every radio station in America can receive.

But it was not enough to overcome Burger's opposition to extending full First Amendment rights to broadcast journalists. He replied in a terse two-sentence letter stating, "It is not possible to arrange for any broadcasting of any Supreme Court proceeding."

Scrawled across the bottom of the letter was a hand-written note in blue ink from Chief Justice Burger, "When you get the Cabinet meetings on the air, call me."

A Burger aide later tried to dismiss this postscript as an attempt at humor. Actually, it demonstrated that Burger completely missed the point of Mutual's request. We had not proposed broadcasting the private conferences of the Justices any more than we would propose broadcasting the private deliberations of the President's Cabinet or the private discussions of Congressional lead-

ers. What we proposed was that the *public* hearings of the Supreme Court—now open to ordinary citizens and to the print press—also be open to the broadcast press, just as public meetings of the Senate and House and of the White House and other executive agencies are open to the broadcast press.

After Burger's rejection, seven journalistic organizations appealed to him to reconsider his decision.

Amazingly, the appeal was considered and voted on by the full Supreme Court. The result: Six Justices voted against radio coverage of the Gramm-Rudman arguments. But three Justices voted to allow coverage—William J. Brennan Jr., Thurgood Marshall, and John Paul Stevens. Naturally, I was disappointed to lose. But I was encouraged that the matter was put to a vote by the entire Court, and that three Justices stood up for the Freedom of the Press for broadcasters right in their own courtroom. Two more votes, and we would have made history!

I'm not optimistic that it will be easy to get those necessary two more votes. But we intend to keep on pushing for the people's right to hear broadcast coverage of the Supreme Court's open sessions. We are reviewing the Court's docket for other cases of overwhelming public importance and interest, and we intend to renew our request for permission to broadcast them.

The public's right to know and the Constitutionally guaranteed Freedom of the Press require that we continue this fight until we win, which I believe we eventually will.

When we do, it will not be a victory for the Mutual Broadcasting System or the broadcast media. It will be a long-overdue victory for the people of the United States. ■

(Retired Chief Justice Warren Burger declined an invitation to respond to this article.—Ed.)

Ron Nessen, vice president for news of the Mutual Broadcasting System, formerly served as Press Secretary to President Gerald R. Ford. He is a past recipient of the Overseas Press Club's George Polk award.



AP/Wide World Photos

Elie Wiesel

# *"When Their Voices Are Stifled, We Shall Lend Them Ours"*

BY ELIE WIESEL

(Ed. Note: The following words were spoken by Mr. Wiesel on his acceptance of the Nobel Prize for Peace.)

**W**ORDS OF GRATITUDE. First to our common Creator. This is what the Jewish tradition commands us to do. At special occasions, one is duty-bound to recite the following prayer: "Baroukh shehekhanou vekiymanou vehigianou lazman haze"—blessed be Thou for having sustained us until this day.

Then—thank you, Chairman Aarvik,

for the depth of your eloquence. And for the generosity of your gesture. Thank you for building bridges between people and generations. Thank you, above all, for helping humankind make peace its most urgent and noble aspiration.

I am moved, deeply moved by your meaningful words, Chairman Aarvik. And it is with a profound sense of humility that I accept the honor—the highest there is—you have chosen to bestow upon me. I know: Your choice transcends my person.

Do I have the right to represent the multitudes who have perished? Do I have the right to accept this great honor on their behalf? I do not. No one may

speak for the dead, no one may interpret their mutilated dreams and visions. And yet, I sense their presence. I always do—and at this moment more than ever. The presence of my parents, that of my little sister. The presence of my teachers, my friends, my companions.... This honor belongs to all the survivors and their children and, through us, to the Jewish people with whose destiny I have always identified.

I remember: It happened yesterday or eternities ago. A young Jewish boy discovered the kingdom of night. I remember his bewilderment, I remember his anguish. It all happened so fast. The ghetto. The deportation. The sealed cattle car. The fiery altar upon which the history of our people and the future of mankind were meant to be sacrificed.

I remember he asked his father: "Can this be true? This is the twentieth century, not the Middle Ages. Who would allow such crimes to be committed? How could the world remain silent?"

And now the boy is turning to me: "Tell me," he asks. "What have you done with my future? What have you done with your life?"

And I tell him that I have tried. That I have tried to keep memory alive, that I have tried to fight those who would forget. Because if we forget, we are guilty, we are accomplices.

And then I explain to him how naive we were, that the world did know and remained silent. And that is why I swore never to be silent whenever and wherever human beings endure suffering and humiliation. We must always take sides.

Neutrality helps the oppressor, never the victim. Silence encourages the tormentor, never the tormented. Sometimes we must interfere. When human lives are endangered, when human dignity is in jeopardy, national borders and sensitivities become irrelevant. Wherever men or women are persecuted because of their race, religion, or political views, that place must—at that moment—become the center of the universe.

Of course, since I am a Jew profoundly rooted in my people's memory and tradition, my first response is to Jewish fears, Jewish needs, Jewish crises. For I belong to a traumatized generation, one that experienced the abandonment and solitude of our people. It would be unnatural for me not to make Jewish priorities my own: Israel, Soviet Jewry, Jews in Arab lands. But, others are important to me. Apartheid is, in my view, as abhorrent as anti-Semitism. To me, Andrei Sakharov's isolation is as much of a disgrace as Josef Begun's imprisonment, and Ida Nudel's exile. As is the denial of Solidarity and its leader Lech Walesa's right to dissent. And Nelson Mandela's imprisonment.

*continued*

# Medical Research— building a healthier future

If you've ever been treated for high blood pressure... heart disease...diabetes...or almost any health problem, medical progress based on research has already touched your life.

Because of medical research, polio no longer strikes in epidemic proportions every summer. Today about three-quarters of patients diagnosed as having Hodgkin's disease will survive five years or longer—as opposed to less than half twenty years ago. Current treatment options for people with heart disease and high blood pressure include medication that helps the body's natural regulators to control blood pressure and volume, enabling the heart to function with less strain.

Scientists are now working on new ways of treating such devastating afflictions as heart disease, cancer and Alzheimer's disease. They are testing new enzyme inhibitors that may control or reverse the late complications of diabetes. Forthcoming breakthroughs in understanding biological processes and treating disease may change the quality and perhaps the length of your life.

Medical research leading to such results takes years of patient, often frustrating experimentation by many different teams throughout the public and private sectors of our scientific community. The tasks involved are not simple.

Advances in research stem from a partnership that includes federal agencies such as the National Institutes of Health (NIH) and the Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration (ADAMHA), universities and teaching hospitals across America, and private industry laboratories. Each partner often works independently to acquire knowledge and test new concepts. They must build on the knowledge developed in all laboratories, and they often coordinate efforts in their search for answers.

Whether an idea originates in a university laboratory or starts with basic product research carried on in the private sector, important findings percolate through the

entire scientific community, where each new finding serves as a building block to establish a deeper understanding of what we are and how we function.

Medical research is an expensive process. It needs steady funding for equipment and personnel—even when progress is slow. Government and industry often work with university-based scientists and the medical profession not only in the acquisition of new knowledge and the development of new treatments, but also in funding these advances.

Now more than ever, we all must do our part to help keep the flow of discoveries active and ongoing. If funding for medical research is reduced, major advances in knowledge about some of the most dreaded diseases facing us today could be delayed for years to come.

What can you do?

- *Speak up.* Let your legislators know that you want funding of biomedical research by NIH and other government agencies to be kept at the highest possible levels.
- *Contribute* to voluntary health organizations supporting disease research.

Research-based pharmaceutical companies such as Pfizer are also increasing their financial investment in research. For instance, in 1984 alone, pharmaceutical companies in the United States spent over 4 billion dollars on research and product development.

At the same time, we at Pfizer realize the importance of committing more than money to research. As a partner in healthcare, we are continually working to discover new ideas, test new concepts, and turn new understanding to practical and beneficial uses. Now we are working harder than ever to make sure that this nation's medical research effort receives the attention—and funding—it deserves.

*For more information on the future of medical research in America, write to Health Research U.S.A., P.O. Box 3852 FR, Grand Central Station, New York, NY 10163.*



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## Censorship can make the world a better place.

Censorship can make your life easier. When somebody else makes decisions about what you can read and see and hear, you don't have to think as much.

Censorship can cure the world of problems like violent crime and child abuse. If you believe information and ideas cause problems—instead of people.

Censorship can help everyone agree. If you weren't free to read or hear dissenting opinions, or to express your own, it would be a lot easier to agree...just as easy as it was in Nazi Germany, or as it is today in Cuba, Iran and the Soviet Union.

Once we make exceptions to the freedoms guaranteed us under the First Amendment, anything can happen. Ten years ago, the city of Miami banned *Mother Goose*. Other victims have included Shakespeare, and even *Ms.* magazine.

Right now, some Americans are trying to abridge your constitutional freedoms so they'll be able to choose what books and magazines you read, television shows you see.

As an American, you have the freedom to say No to censorship. Say it today—tomorrow may be too late.

Freedom is everybody's business.

**WIESEL**/continued

There is so much injustice and suffering crying out for our attention: victims of hunger, of racism and political persecution, in Chile, for instance, or in Ethiopia, writers and poets, prisoners in so many lands governed by the Left and by the Right. Human rights are being violated on every continent. More people are oppressed than free. How can one not be sensitive to their plight? Human suffering anywhere concerns men and women everywhere. That applies also to the Palestinians to whose plight I am sensitive but whose methods I deplore when they lead to violence. Violence is not the answer; terrorism is the most dangerous of answers. They are frustrated, that is understandable; something must be done about it. The refugees and their misery. The children and their fear. The uprooted and their hopelessness.

Something must be done about the situation. Both the Jewish people and the Palestinian people have lost too many sons and shed too much blood. This must stop, and all attempts to stop it must be encouraged. Israel will cooperate, I am sure of that. I trust Israel, for I have faith in the Jewish people. Let Israel be given a chance, let hatred and danger be removed from her horizons, and there will be peace in and around the Holy Land. Please understand my deep and total commitment to Israel. If you could remember what I remember you would understand. Israel is the only nation in the world whose existence is threatened. Should Israel lose but one war, it would mean her end; and ours as well. But I have faith. Faith in the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and even in His creation. Without it, no action would be possible. And action is the only remedy to indifference, the most insidious danger of all. Isn't this the meaning of Alfred Nobel's legacy? Wasn't his fear of war a shield against war? There is so much to be done, there is much that can be done. One person—a Raoul Wallenberg, an Albert Schweitzer, a Martin Luther King Jr., one person of integrity, can make a difference, a difference of life and death.

As long as one dissident is in prison, our freedom will not be true. As long as one child is hungry, our lives will be filled with anguish and shame. What all these victims need above all is to know that they are not alone, that we are not forgetting them, that when their voices are stifled we shall lend them ours, that while their freedom depends on ours, the quality of our freedom depends on theirs.

This is what I say to the young Jewish boy wondering what I have done with my years. It is in his name that I speak to

you and that I express to you my deepest gratitude. No one is capable of gratitude as one who has emerged from the kingdom of night. We know that every moment is a moment of grace, every hour an offering; not to share them would mean to betray them. Our lives no longer

belong to us alone; they belong to all those who need us desperately.

Thank you, Chairman Aarvik. Thank you, members of the Nobel Committee. Thank you, people of Norway, for declaring on this occasion that our survival has meaning for mankind. ■

# Blacks And The First Amendment

BY ROGER WILKINS/INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES



Roger Wilkins

**W**HEN THOSE OF US IN the Free South Africa Movement first began picketing at the South African embassy two-and-a-half years ago, we were dismissed by some as a group of disgruntled civil rights activists who had nothing better to do in the age of Reagan. The exercise of First Amendment rights by Americans in the South was fully covered by the press and the interplay between demonstrators and the media helped enlarge American freedoms dramatically. In South Africa, manifestations of dissent are choked off as brutally as they are in the Soviet Union and reporting on those events is prohibited. The grim prognosis for that country is related directly to the determination of the government to smother dissent and the news of it. The contrast is the starker lesson one could encounter about how necessary free political expression is to the health and vitality of a nation. ■

However shallow that observation was, there is a powerful lesson in the fact that some of us, who first became truly acquainted with the First Amendment in the Civil Rights Movement, used those old techniques to change our country's policy on South Africa. Nothing tells the differences between that country and ours better than the differences in the uses to which speech and the press can be put in the cause of freedom.

The exercise of First Amendment

Roger Wilkins, a former editor of the "Washington Star," is a Senior Fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C.

# How The Press Can Earn —And Keep—The Public Trust

BY LOUIS D. BOCCARDI/THE ASSOCIATED PRESS



Louis D. Boccardi

**J**OURNALISTS OF THE Associated Press work in enough other journalistic systems around the world for us to appreciate fully the privilege of operating in a free land where the nation's charter establishes the fundamental rule of our craft. That 200-year-old tradition stands as a model—certainly imperfect, but still exemplary—as the censorship battle contin-

ues, at home and abroad, against forces that would impede the free flow of information.

As the people's surrogate, journalists enjoy a freedom of ideas and opinion that is truly at the heart of what America is. Using that freedom in ways that serve the interests of the people is the surest way I know of to make sure that the freedom outlives us all. This course

will take the courage of dedicated men and women who understand that freedom of the press must emancipate us to do what we were ordained to do—the people's work.

So what is the fundamental challenge to our generation of print and broadcast journalists? Whether we will be able to keep and increase the people's support in an age in which the news media operate with a speed, intensity and omnipresence beyond anything which we or our audience have had to cope with.

Too many people still perceive journalists as unfair, careless with security and privacy, unwilling to admit mistakes and insensitive to the impact of what we do. How can we counter that perception? By addressing those issues directly and explaining what we do and why, and by being sensitive to those concerns as we make our news decisions.

We want our audience to trust in the accuracy of what we say.

We want them to find our work fair.

We want them to understand the role of a free press in this society, a role that will often force us to bring bad news, news they might in truth be just as happy not to learn.

We want them to feel we are responsive to their news and information needs rather than arrogantly pursuing our own agenda, an agenda set more by our peers than our readers, listeners and viewers.

We want them to find in our news media a mix of the good and the bad that reflects the world they know of their own personal experience.

We must use wisely the influence the media age has given us. If we don't do a better job of dealing with these issues, someone—the courts, the government, someone—is going to deal with them for us. And that would be disastrous.

We have in our constitutionally mandated free press system a magnificent instrument if we journalists, the government and our readers, listeners and viewers can continue to make it work right.

*Louis D. Boccardi is president and general manager of The Associated Press.*



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# "The People Are The Press"

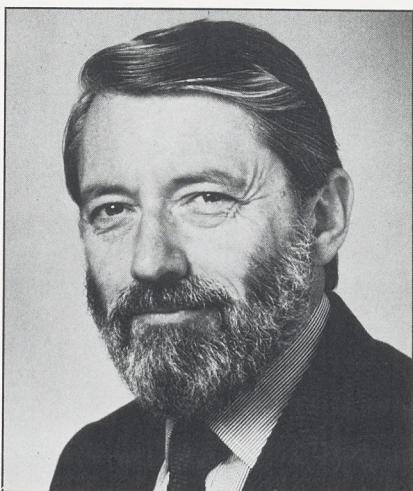
BY RAY CAVE/TIME INC.

**O**NE OF THE PHRASES WE will hear most frequently in this 200th anniversary year of the Constitution is "freedom of the press." This can be stated with certainty because we can depend upon ourselves—the press—to be sure it happens. But as comforting as those four words may be to journalists, they do not produce the same tranquillity in the public mind.

"Freedom to do what?" is the question often asked, in the same tone of voice as "Who elected you to . . . ?" Nobody elected us, of course, and "freedom to do what?" is a fair question.

But if that is the instinctive reaction of many Americans to their press today, why do they seem so satisfied, and frequently proud, that their Constitution provided this sometimes maddening "freedom"?

The answer rests, I think, in a fundamental understanding: The people are the press.



Ray Cave

We journalists like to think we shape the dialogue; that the people then attend to what we say. There is truth in that, of course, but curiously there may be truth in the opposite notion, that it's the people who set the agenda of the press. They tell us what is on their minds,

what they need to know, what troubles and delights them. We listen, and in the main it is their concerns that we address.

The drafters of the Constitution never could have envisioned a press so much a part of the fabric of the nation that it could be considered, in a manner of speaking, the people themselves.

Which leads to a cautionary footnote. Is it possible, 200 years later, that the greatest threat to "freedom of the press" doesn't come from outsiders who would try to limit that freedom, but from our own unrecognized willingness to limit it ourselves? In the name of responsibility and responsiveness, we censor—edit, if you prefer—ourselves. And we certainly must. But let us never forget that with "freedom of the press" comes a continuing obligation to exercise that freedom vigorously. ■

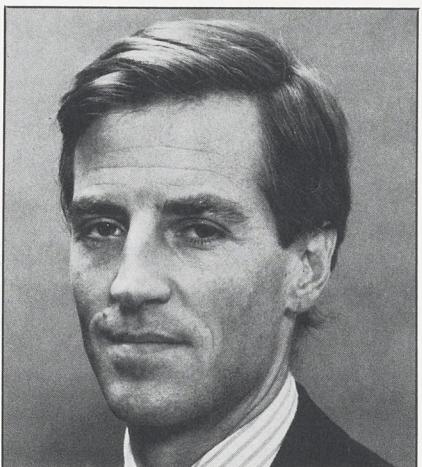
*Ray Cave is the corporate editor of Time, Inc.*

# Packaging The World Once A Week

BY EVAN THOMAS/NEWSWEEK

**T**HE NEWS MAGAZINE WAS created back in the 1920s for a simple, practical reason: There was too much to read, and too little time to read it. So Henry Luce and his young Yale friends endeavored, in a cheeky and breezy style, to sum up the world for *Time*'s readers in an hour or so.

Since then the job of the news magazines, like the world, has gotten more complicated. It is no longer enough for the news magazines to simply regurgitate, however cleverly, what the newspapers have already printed. Borrowing heavily from the news magazines, newspapers have learned how to tightly summarize themselves for the Sunday papers—the day before the news magazines reach the stands. Opinion and fact, once sharply



Evan Thomas

if artificially separated in newspaper columns, have been merged in "news analyses" that read very much like the once-standard fare of news magazines.

I say "once" because all the news magazines—*Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News and World Report*—are groping for something new and different, at once brighter, quicker, and deeper. The news magazine must now not only inform but enlighten (and, yes, entertain) the reader; to report not only the goings-on of government but also to mirror, in a tightly focused way, life itself—all without losing its news edge and becoming too soft or mushy.

It is a difficult task, and at times it gives my own news magazine the feel of a work-in-progress. But if the free market demands change as a matter of survival, free speech welcomes it. ■

*Evan Thomas is the Washington Bureau Chief of "Newsweek."*

# An American Tradition Flourishes Overseas

BY LEE W. HUEBNER/INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE

**A**FULL CENTURY AGO, James Gordon Bennett Jr. founded the newspaper that this year, as the *International Herald Tribune*, celebrates its 100th anniversary in Paris. The Paris paper was an experiment as far as Bennett was concerned, one of many experiments which American publishers made in cities around the world. But for some reason this particular experiment endured.

The going wasn't easy; there were low spells and highs. There was even a four-year interruption, caused by the arrival of the German armies in 1940. But the newspaper that began life as the *New York Herald* (European Edition) today circulates to nearly half a million readers in 164 countries around the world.

Legally, the IHT is a French newspaper. In terms of its coverage, readership and distribution, it is international—we actually print in eight different world capitals (with a couple more soon coming). But in the most important sense, the IHT remains an American newspaper, American in its journalistic style and in its approach to the news. We do the best we can to represent to the world the best in American journalistic traditions, exemplified by the two newspapers (*The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*) that today share with the Whitney Communications Company in our ownership, as well as by the old *New York Herald Tribune* that was for so long our U.S. parent.

When readers tell us why they read the *International Herald Tribune*, their reasons often center on these traditions and values. Among them:

- Objectivity—A European friend says he reads the local press to find out what he's supposed to think, and the IHT to find out what happened.
- Balance—We do the best we can to see the world whole, rather than in any particular national perspective. And the opinion pages strive to present a wide and fairly selected range of viewpoints.
- Independence—In an environment where many local and national newspapers live with significant political or social pressures, the IHT is described by many readers as a breath of fresh air, the



Lee W. Huebner

organ of no party or cause or government.

Sadly, the concept of an independent, balanced and objective press is not on the ascendancy today in many parts of the world. Yet we feel that the IHT can make a contribution to the defense and even the advancement of these ideals simply by the power of its example, by struggling to come as close as we can to achieving them each day and by carrying this struggle to as much of the world as we possibly can reach.

Among the witnesses to this daily effort is an expert audience which is particularly close to us—and especially worth noting as we greet our friends at the Overseas Press Club. They are the foreign correspondents of the world—American and non-American alike.

They comprise, of course, an extraordinarily knowledgeable audience—not only about their beat of the moment but also about the whole world. They tend to be uprooted as frequently as diplomats, and restrewn just as haphazardly. Familiar bylines move from Moscow to Manila, from Warsaw to Rio. One example is John Vinocur, who in the past nine years

has moved from Paris to Bonn to Paris and on to New York with *The New York Times* and is now back in Paris, as the IHT's new executive editor.

For the most part, I am happy to say, these correspondents speak kindly about the IHT. When their stories appear in our pages, many tell us, it's the only time their own sources and contacts have the chance to see their work.

But they are quick to criticize as well. When we're not fast off the mark (or even seem actually glued to it), a correspondent reader will often let us know just how we fell short. And that, too, is important for us.

Because this group of journalists is so steadily on our minds as well as on our pages, they form a special readership indeed. A longtime foreign correspondent told a friend not long ago, "The Trib is the link that holds our own little world together." That's a big assignment—and we will continue to do our best to be equal to it.

Lee W. Huebner is publisher of the "International Herald Tribune."



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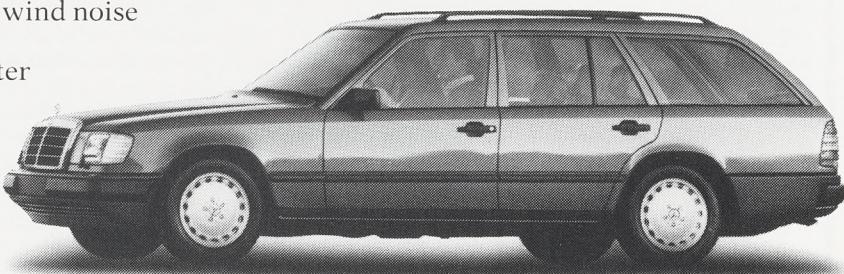
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**N**EW AND OLD FORMS of threats, intimidations, arrest and violence continue to plague the press around the world.

The Inter American Press Association called 1986 "one of the darkest periods in recent memory for freedom of the press in the hemisphere." The association added, "The press of the Americas is under constant attack, not only by dictatorships, but also by democratic governments."

In February 1987, 69 journalists were imprisoned, detained or held hostage in 16 countries, according to the list that follows, prepared by the Committee to Protect Journalists. The list last year showed 85 held in 18 countries.

In some countries, there appears to have been open season on journalists. They have been arrested for writing articles critical of the government. They have been held as hostages, seized for trading purposes, tried or held without charge, and murdered.

Opposition papers were shut down in both left-oriented and right-oriented countries. Foreign correspondents were expelled, stifled and censored. Editors were killed in Colombia and Nigeria.

In Singapore and Malaysia, the "Asian Wall Street Journal" was the victim of government repression. Nicaragua shut down "La Prensa." In Chile, six newspapers were closed down and international news operations were suspended. In South Africa, the already tough press curbs were stiffened.

All who cherish a free press as a cornerstone of democracy must be vigilant and vocal in their opposition to these invasions of journalists' right to do their job, and of people's right to know.

Whenever possible, the OPC joins other media organizations in protesting individual cases of harassment and persecution of journalists. We send cables to the governments involved, we notify the U.S. State Department, we issue press releases, we sign petitions.

In some cases, the combined impact of many protesting voices does lead to release of the imprisoned journalist. In other cases, prison conditions are improved. Most often, it is impossible to track exactly what happens. But it has been generally found that when a government hears that responsible and respected groups care and are watching, this helps. So, the OPC will continue to try and help journalists who are victimized.

Here is the list of prisoners:

# 69 Journalists Detained In 16 Countries

BY NORMAN SCHORR



Norman Schorr, Chairman, Freedom of the Press Committee

Some have been held hostage, tried without charge and put to death

## CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

**Thomas Kwazo**—Journalist with Agence Centrafricaine de Presse, detained October 1986.

## CHINA

**He Qiu**—Involved with several unofficial publications, sentenced in May 1982 to 10 years of imprisonment.

**Liu Qing**—Co-founder of the *April Fifth Forum*, reportedly sentenced in August 1982 to 7 years in jail.

**Wang Xizhe**—Editor of unofficial journal, *Responsibility*, sentenced in May 1982 to 14 years of imprisonment.

**Wei Jingsheng**—Editor of unofficial journal, *Exploration*, sentenced in October 1979 to 15 years of imprisonment.

**Xu Wenli**—Co-founder of the *April Fifth Forum*, arrested April 1981 and sentenced to 15 years for "counter-revolutionary propaganda and agitation."

**Zhu Jianbin**—Co-founder of the *Sound*

of the Bell, arrested April 1981, never publicly charged or tried.

## CUBA

**Fernando Rivas Porta**—Journalist with *Bohemia* magazine imprisoned in 1967, reportedly for criticizing the regime.

**Luis Rodriguez Rodriguez**—Worked for the now defunct newspaper *El País*, jailed since 1960.

## ETHIOPIA

**Martha Kumisa**—Worked for Oromo-language journal *Barissa*, detained January 1980.

## LEBANON

**Terry Anderson**—U.S. journalist, chief Middle East correspondent of the AP, kidnapped March 1985 in West Beirut.

**Roger Augue**—French journalist, kidnapped January 1987 in West Beirut.

*continued*

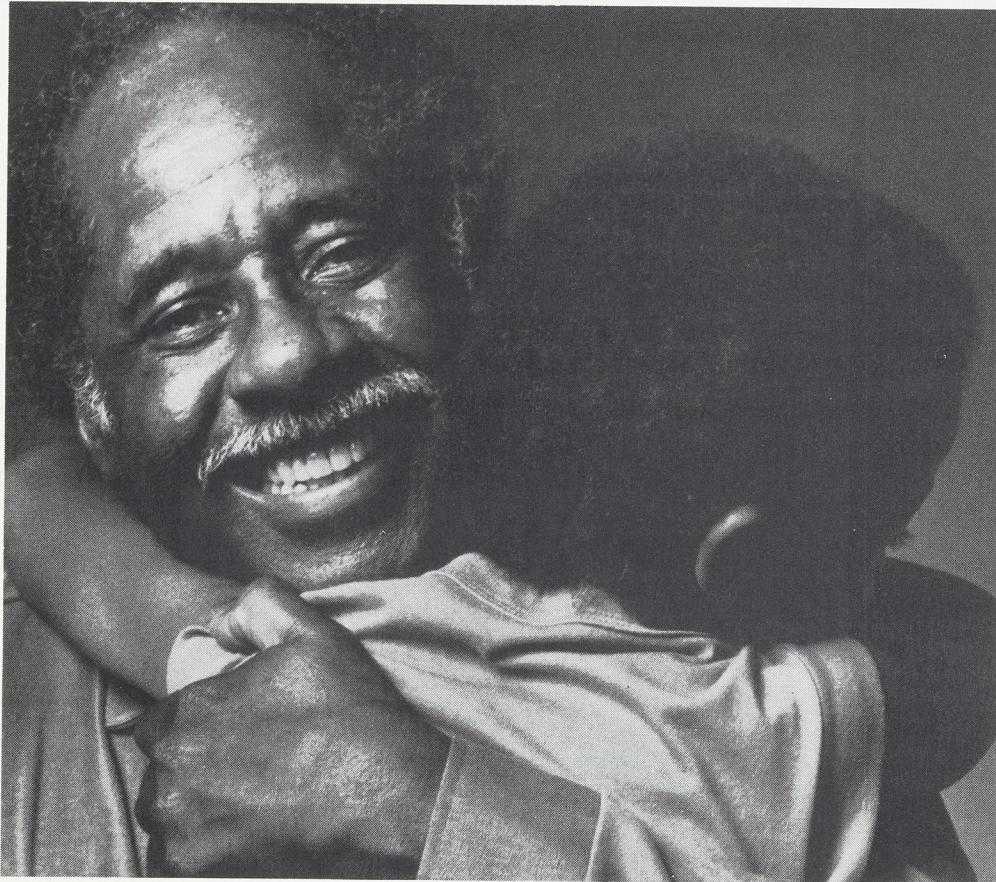
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**SCHORR/continued**

**John McCarthy**—British journalist on assignment for Worldwide Television News, kidnapped April 1986.

**Alec Collett**—British journalist on assignment for a U.N. agency, abducted March 1985 in a Beirut suburb. Unconfirmed reports say he has been killed.

**Jean-Paul Kauffmann**—French journalist with weekly *L'Evenement du Jeudi*, kidnapped May 1985.

**Jean-Louis Normandin**—Member of a French Antenne 2 television crew, kidnapped March 1986 after filming a rally in West Beirut.

**LIBYA**

These journalists are reported to have been sentenced to life in prison in 1980 for participating in "illegal activities."

**Ahmed Muhammed al Fitouri**

**Khalifa Sifaw Khaboush**—Editorial board member of *al-Usbu'as-Siyasi*.

**Ali Muhammed Hadid al-Rheibi**—Reporter for *al-Usbu' al Thaqifiy*.

**Idris Muhammed Ibn Tayeb**—Reporter and editor.

**MEXICO**

**Jorge Enrique Hernandez Aguilar**—Journalist associated with several publications, including *Cuarto Poder* newspaper, arrested May 1986.

**NEPAL**

**Aang Dorje Lama**—Editor, publisher of *Rajdhani* weekly, arrested November 1986 in connection with article critical of government.

**Harihar Raj Joshi**—Columnist with *Valley News and Views*, arrested August 1986 for writing "objectionable" material.

**Keshav Raj Pindali**—Editor of *Saptahik Kimarsha* weekly, arrested October 1986 for poem critical of the government.

**Bhairav Risal**—Assistant editor *Rajdhani* weekly, arrested December 1986 in connection with article critical of the government.

**SINGAPORE**

**Chia Thye Poh**—Editor of *Chern Sien Pau*, opposition party newspaper, detained without trial since October 1986.

**SOUTH AFRICA**

**M.J. Fuzile and Phila Nggumba**—Journalists with Veritas News Agency, detained after imposition of June 1986 emergency regulations.

**Brian Sekoto**—Freelance journalist, stringer for *Eastern Province Herald*, detained after imposition of June 1986 emergency rules.

**Zwelakhe Sisulu**—Editor of the *New Nation* weekly and a former president of MWASA, the black media workers' union, arrested June 1986, released in July, rearrested December 1986.

**SOUTH KOREA**

**Kim Ju-Eon**—Journalist with the daily

*Hankook Ilbo*, arrested December 1986, for providing information for article in *Mal* magazine documenting government practice of issuing "guidance" to newspaper editors on news coverage.

**Kim Tae-Hong and Shin Hong-Bom**—Journalists with *Mal* magazine, arrested December 1986 in connection with article described in Kim Ju-Eon case.

**SOVIET UNION**

**Gintautas Iesmantas**—Editor, author of samizdat articles, sentenced December 1980 to 6 years in a labor camp and 5 years of internal exile.

**Stepan Khmara**—Editor with the samizdat *Ukrainian Herald*, sentenced December 1980 to 7 years in labor camp.

**Zoya A. Krakhmalnikova**—Editor of samizdat Christian journal *Hope*, sentenced April 1983 to 1 year corrective labor, 5 years of internal exile.

**Aleksei Smirnov**—Active in publishing samizdat human rights journals, sentenced March 1983 to 6 years in a labor camp, 4 years of internal exile.

**SYRIA**

**Marwan Hamawi**—Director of Syrian news agency, SANA, arrested April 1975 on suspicion of collaborating with Iraqi wing of Ba'ath party. Not charged or tried, said to be held in military prison.

**TAIWAN**

**Chang Hua-Min**—Writer, historian and journalist, sentenced January 1980 to 10 years of imprisonment for making "pro-Communist propaganda."

**Chang Chun-Hung, Huang Hsin-Chieh, Shih Ming-Teh**—Editor-in-chief, publisher and general manager, respectively, of opposition *Formosa* magazine, sentenced April 1980 to 12, 14 years and life imprisonment, respectively, in connection with Human Rights Day rally sponsored by the magazine.

**Huang Hua**—Former deputy managing editor of the opposition *Taiwan Political Review*, arrested July 1976 and sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment for "seditious" articles and "propagating rebellious thoughts."

**Lin Cheng-Chieh**—Publisher of opposition magazine, *Progress Weekly*, sentenced September 1986 to 1½ years of imprisonment.

**Wei T'ing Ch'ao**—Editor with *Formosa* magazine, sentenced June 1980 to 6 years in jail in connection with Human Rights Day Rally (mentioned above).

**TURKEY**

**Feyzullah Ozar**—Editor of political weekly, *Kitle*, sentenced March 1982 to 18 years of imprisonment for articles written between 1977 and 1978.

**Emine Senliklioglu**—Chief editor of *Mektpup*, sentenced May 1985 to 6 years of imprisonment for publishing a book "violating the principle of state security."

**Veli Yilmaz**—Editor of *Liberation*, the newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist Party, sentenced to 1041 years in prison (the term represents separate sentences for each offending article).

**VIETNAM**

The following 21 Vietnamese journalists believed to be held in prison or "re-education" camps. There is only scant information about the reasons for their detention; nearly all have not been tried.

**Doan Quoc Sy**—Professor and novelist, contributor to magazine *Sang Tao*.

**Duong Hung Cuong** (also known as De Huc Can)—Worked for *Cong Ong* magazine and *Doc Lap*.

**Ho Van Dong**—Publisher of the daily *Quyet Tien* and former vice president for Asia of the International Federation of Journalists, arrested 1976.

**Hoang Hai Thuy**—Novelist, journalist contributing to several newspapers, re-arrested May 1984.

**Khuat Duy Trac**—Director of periodical *Dan Chu*.

**Le Ha Vinh** (also known as Tran Du Tu)—Edited daily *Bao Den*, and worked for radio station Voice of Freedom. Arrested April 1976.

**Le Khai Trach**—Edited radio program for Voice of Freedom.

**Le Van Tien** (also known as Nhu Phong)—Editor of *Tu Do* newspaper, published articles in the *China Quarterly* on international affairs.

**Nguyen Hai Chi** (also known as Choe) —Cartoonist with several newspapers, arrested 1976, released 1985; report indicates he was re-arrested in 1985.

**Nguyen Khanh Giu** (also known as Vinh Lac)—Edited and wrote for several publications.

**Nguyen Sy Te**—Writer and teacher.

**Nguyen Viet Khanh** (also known as Son Dien)—Served in several editorial capacities with Vietnam Press, wrote commentaries for several newspapers.

**Pham Van Lam Binh**—Journalist, arrested May 1978.

**Pham Nhat Nam**—Author who also contributed to news publications.

**Tran Duc Uyen** (also known as Tu Keu)—A journalist and poet, reportedly sentenced to 18 years of imprisonment.

**Tran Duy Hinh** (also known as Thao Truong)—Wrote for various magazines and newspapers, arrested April 1975.

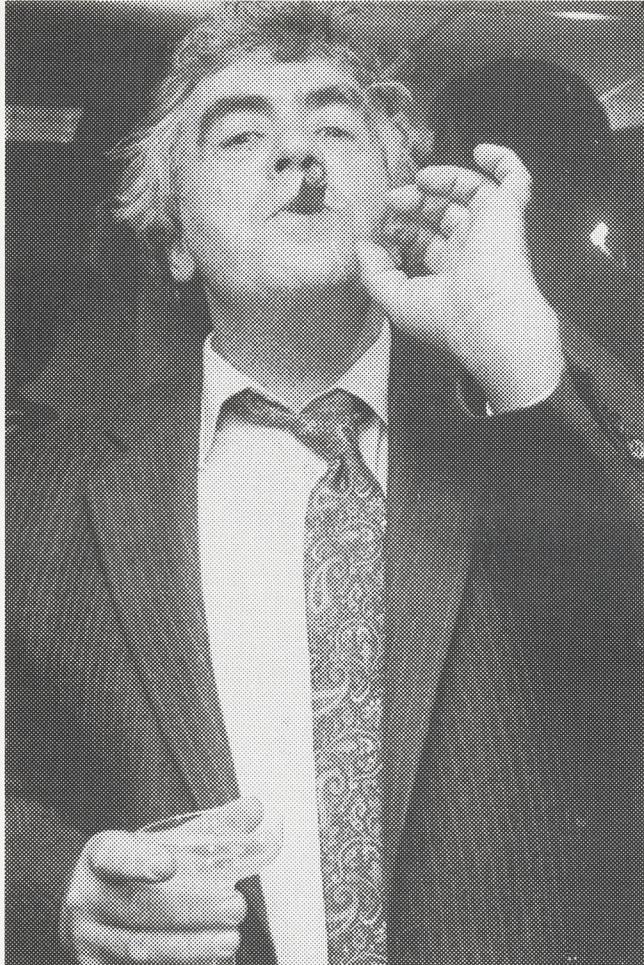
**Tran Quy Phong**—Wrote for Roman Catholic daily *Xay Dung*, arrested July 1975.

**Tran Tu Huyen**—Reporter and editor for several publications.

**Truong Vi Tri**—Publisher and editor of *Dan Thanh* newspaper, sent for "re-education" June 1975.

**Vo Long Trieu**—Owner and editor of *Dai Dan Toc*.

**Vu Van Anh**—Broadcast journalist and director of current affairs section of South Vietnam radio.



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# Bill Of Rights

**T**he American Revolutionaries... were not only democrats, in the sense that they believed in the rights of the people, as opposed to kings and nobles; they were liberals, in the sense that they believed in the inalienable rights proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence—and now those rights were spelled out."

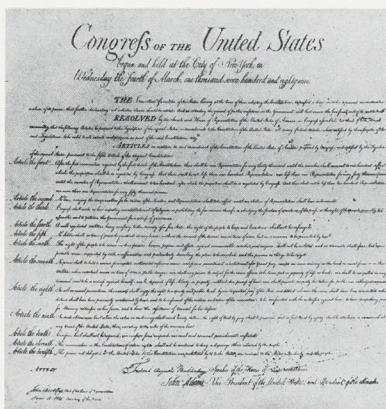
Thus the British historian Hugh Brogan describes the Bill of Rights, the ten amendments appended to the

Constitution by the Founding Fathers. It is these amendments that for 200 years have guaranteed Americans'

basic freedoms of speech, press, religion and assembly.

Without the Bill of Rights, the Constitution would not have been adopted by the delegates in Philadelphia two centuries ago; and without it America would not be the nation it is today. The text is in the adjacent column.

The original Bill of Rights had 12 amendments, but the states ratified only 10, which have been our charter of liberties ever since.



**ARTICLE I** Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

**ARTICLE II** A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

**ARTICLE III** No soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

**ARTICLE IV** The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

**ARTICLE V** No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness, against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

**ARTICLE VI** In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

**ARTICLE VII** In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

**ARTICLE VIII** Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

**ARTICLE IX** The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

**ARTICLE X** The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people.

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DAILY NEWS

# PARADE

A Seasoned Reporter  
Examines  
Northern Ireland's  
Long War

CAN IT END THIS YEAR?

BY PETER MAAS

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100's Soft Pack and 100's Menthol: 5 mg. "tar", 0.4 mg. nicotine; 120's: 7 mg. "tar", 0.6 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report Jan. '85.  
Slims: 6 mg. "tar", 0.6 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method.